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A. D. Saunders

HEADQUARTERS
Republican Congressional
Committee

1902

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"You do not have to guess what the Republican Party will do. The world knows its purposes. It has embodied them in law and executed them in administration."—WILLIAM McKINLEY.

REPUBLICAN TEXT
BOOK

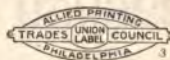
FOR THE

Campaign of 1902

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

OF THE

**REPUBLICAN CONGRESSIONAL
COMMITTEE**



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1902.

STATEMENT.

The purpose of this book is indicated by its title. It is a Republican Text-book and is believed to contain reliable statements of facts and official data regarding party policies and acts of administration dictated by these policies. The Congressional Committee has sought to make the matter here presented reliable beyond controversy and has gone to the official records that those who use it may state the facts.

The text-book is compiled from official reports that can readily be secured from the various Departments of the Government. Neither men nor parties can stand on their records alone, but such records are the best indication of their ability and readiness to carry out promises.

The following pages give a record of Republican Administration of the Government and the fidelity of that party to its pledges.

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226959

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OF THE
Republican Congressional
Committee, 1902

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Republican National Committee, 1902

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Hawaii,	SAMUEL PARKER,	Honolulu.

REPUBLICAN TEXT-BOOK, 1902.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

EMBODIES ITS PRINCIPLES IN LAW AND EXECUTES THEM IN ADMINISTRATION.

"You do not have to guess what the Republican party will do. The whole world knows its purposes. It has embodied them in law and executed them in administration."

This was William McKinley's definition of the Republican party before he was elected President. It is true to-day by reason of his Administration, which closed with the tragedy at Buffalo that put the whole world in grief for the death of one man as never before known in history.

The Republican party is to-day, as it has been for more than fifty years, the party of sturdy American principles, progressive and conservative, accomplishing what it advocates and advocating what best represents the ideals of the most progressive people in the whole world.

The Republican party has never been influenced by hysterical impulse, but has resisted that tendency in its own ranks and withstood it in the assaults of its opponents.

It had its origin not in revolutionary doctrine, but in the sober judgment of the people of the North, that compromise with slavery was no longer possible in the great territory of the West which was soon to be organized into States and have an equal part in the Union.

The first Republican President was from the West, and nearly all Republican Presidents have been from the West, not excepting the present Chief Executive, who, as the child of New York, was early adopted by the West as a cowboy and hunter to make him as typically western as any of his predecessors.

The Record of the Republican party is written in the amendments to the Constitution, substantially all the Federal statutes now in force, and the most remarkable period of progress the country has ever known.

It is written also in the commercial invasion of Europe, in Cuba, where a new flag has appeared as a testimonial to the fidelity of this party to the cause of free government, in Hawaii, and Porto Rico, as new territories, in the Philippines, where civil government

is rapidly succeeding military rule, and in China, where President McKinley's policy led and controlled the armies of the world marching to the rescue of the besieged legations in Peking. These historical indices of the impress on the world by the Government policies and commercial expansion of the American people may be fairly claimed as a part of the history of the Republican party, because they represent the purposes of this party—as "they have been embodied in law and executed in administration."

It may appear like a strong assertion to say that all the Federal laws now in force are the laws of the Republican party, but it is true, for by the codification and remodeling of old statutes and the enacting of others there is no Federal law now on the statute books that do not bear the impress of this party. The homestead laws, the labor laws, the tariff laws, and the laws relating to currency are all from the Republican party. It is the party that for nearly half a century has been responsible for the administration of the nation's affairs, and throughout its administration there has been progress.

The one period when progress was stalled and the wheels appeared to turn backward was that four years from March 4, 1893, to March 4, 1897, when the Democratic party was in complete control, with a Democratic President, a Democratic Senate, and a Democratic House of Representatives.

In that four-year period policies and laws that had proved beneficial were reversed and repealed and Democratic free-trade policies embodied in law and administration. The effort of the Republican party has since that time been to wipe out the effect and the causes of that mistake. The one great Democratic law then enacted has been repealed. It was the Wilson-Gorman tariff law, and it was repealed by the Dingley Act on July 24, 1897, at a special session of Congress, called by President McKinley for that express purpose. It is unnecessary to go into detail as to the work of the Republican party. It is the work of the National Government and the progress of the American people in the last forty years—the period of modern industrial development at home and commercial expansion abroad.

Republican policies.—The first platform of the Republican party favored internal improvements, the prohibition of slavery and polygamy in the Territories and free Kansas. The second platform, adopted in 1860, reversed the policy of the Democrats not only as to the slavery question, but as to the policy it had generally maintained on the constitutional right to make internal improvements at the expense of the National Treasury. It laid down in that second platform principles of government which have guided it ever since, and assisted it in fostering and encouraging the most

wonderful development that this country has ever known in the same period of time.

It demanded not only that the support of the Government should be largely from duties upon imports, but also that these duties should be so imposed as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country. It took up the cause of labor and demanded a policy of national exchanges which secured to the working man liberal wages, to agriculture remunerative prices, to mechanic and manufacturer an equate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the Nation commercial prosperity and independence. It also protested against the sale or alienation of public land except to actual settlers, and demanded the passage by Congress of a complete and satisfactory homestead measure. It insisted that river and harbor improvements of a national character were required for the accommodation and security of commerce, and were authorized by the Constitution. It demanded that a railroad to the Pacific Ocean should be built for the interests of the whole country, and that the Federal Government should render immediate and efficient aid in its construction.

In that platform the Republican party mapped out a stupendous programme, changing the whole character of legislation, and in fact nationalizing the Government for the first time in history. It was a new party without experience in national affairs, and its platform was regarded as one of mere theories, but that party has carried out to the letter every principle laid down in that platform on which Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States.

The Republican party found labor in the North wandering in rags upon the public streets, and in the South receiving its wages in lashings upon the naked back and in chains.

It has lifted all labor to prosperity and independence, and increased the wages of the laboring man by protecting the product of his labor from competition abroad.

It found a bank note currency so incoherent and worthless that everybody was in despair. The money was so bad that the people named it after the color of their dogs, and the only reason that all business was not done with bogus money was that most of the bank notes in use were so worthless that there was nothing to be made by counterfeiting them.

This has been changed, until to-day the United States has all its money as good as gold and equal to the best money in the world. In fact, American money is at a premium now in nearly every country in the world.

It has, through wise and liberal homestead laws, changed the

Great Plains of the West from the herding ground of the buffalo into the greatest food-producing section of the world.

It has built up ten great States in that section of the country which was when it succeeded to power regarded as a wild and profitless country given over to the Indian and buffalo.

It has built trans-continental railroads from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, and it has improved the rivers and harbors of the whole country in the interest of commerce.

The Republican party has done these things to glorify the nation and to unite the people into a harmonious and compact union with common interest.

Republican legislation.—The following are some of the acts of legislation and administration by the Republican party:

1. The Homestead Law, passed by a Republican Congress and signed by Abraham Lincoln.

2. The acts for the issuance of legal tenders and national bank notes, which gave the people a currency of equal and stable value in all parts of the country.

3. The system of internal revenue taxation, by which approximately one-half of the ordinary expenses of the Government have been visited upon malt and spirituous liquors, tobacco, and cigars.

4. The thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, which abolished slavery.

5. The fourteenth amendment, which created citizenship of the United States as distinguished from citizenship of the several States, and provided that no State should abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States.

6. The fifteenth amendment, which established equality of suffrage.

7. The Civil Rights Act, which extended to all persons the equal protection of the laws.

8. All existing laws for the payment of pensions to veterans of the civil war and their surviving relatives.

9. The liberal legislation respecting mineral lands, which built up the mining industry, added enormously to the wealth of the country in the precious and semi-precious metals, and made it possible to resume specie payments.

10. The resumption of specie payments.

11. The reduction of postage, the money-order system, the establishment of the Railway Mail Service, free delivery, and other improvements, that make the Post-Office Establishment of the United States the most efficient agency of that character that can be found on the globe.

12. The Life-Saving Service.

13. The artificial propagation and distribution of fish.

14. The distribution of seeds, and other measures of vast importance in the promotion of agriculture.

15. The endowment of public schools, agricultural colleges, etc., by grants of land from the public domain.

16. The Administrative Customs Act, which ensures justice and equality in the collection of duties.

17. The International Copyright Law, which respects the rights of authors in the product of their brains, but at the same time protects our publishing industry by requiring that books shall be printed in this country to entitle them to copyright.

18. The establishment of the Circuit Court of Appeals, to relieve the Supreme Court and no longer require litigants to suffer a delay of three or four years in securing a decision on appeal.

19. The principle of reciprocity, by which we reduce the duties on certain imports from countries that offer corresponding advantages to our exports and thus extend our foreign markets.

20. The admission of the States of Kansas, Nebraska, Nevada, Colorado, North and South Dakota, Washington, Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming.

21. The Anti-Trust Act. (This was drawn by Senators Sherman and Edmunds, and introduced by the former. In the House its passage was secured by William McKinley against an attempt to have it side-tracked in behalf of a bill for the free coinage of silver, which received the vote of every Democratic member with one exception. So it may be said that the law was placed upon the statute books over the united opposition of the Democratic party as represented in the House.)

22. The National Bankruptcy Acts of 1867 and 1898, which relieved many thousands of unfortunate men from their burdens of debt and restored them to commercial or industrial activity.

23. The establishment of the gold standard, which placed our monetary system on a stable basis and in harmony with the great nations of the world.

24. Every schedule of duties on imports adopted within the past fifty years in which the policy of protection to American labor has been distinctly recognized and efficiently applied, has been the product of a Republican Congress.

25. On logical lines with the policy of protection, the acquisition of the Philippines. That is to say, having built up our industries to a point where their output was in excess of our consumption, we secured a grand depot and distributing point to command in great part the markets of the 600,000,000 inhabitants of Asia.

There must be no scuttle policy.—President McKinley to Notification Committee July 12, 1900.

PROTECTION AND PROSPERITY.

RESTORATION OF GOOD TIMES UNDER REPUBLICAN POLICIES AND LEGISLATION.

The protective tariff under which prosperity has been restored was inaugurated by the Republican party in 1861, after seventy years of almost continuous low tariff; while since 1861 there has been an unbroken period of protective tariff, with the exception of the period 1894-1897. It may not be improper, therefore, at this time to compare present conditions with those existing in 1860. Since that year the population has grown from 31,443,321 to 76,303,387 in 1900, an increase of 143 per cent. In 1860 the national wealth was, according to official statistics, \$16,159,616,000, or \$514 for each individual, and in 1900 it was \$94,300,000,000, or \$1,235 for each individual. The money in circulation in 1860 was \$435,407,252, and in 1900 it was \$2,655,150,998, the per capita circulation being, in 1860, \$13.85, and in 1900, \$26.93, and at the present time \$28.40. The deposits in savings banks in 1860 amounted to \$149,277,504; in 1900, to \$2,449,547,885. The number of depositors in savings banks in 1860 was 693,870, and in 1900, 6,107,183.

Individual deposits in the national banks, brought into existence under Republican legislation in 1863, had reached \$500,000,000 in 1863, and were, in 1900, \$2,623,907,522. The imports of merchandise in 1860 were \$333,616,119, and in 1900, \$849,941,184, an increase of 143 per cent; the exports in 1860 were \$333,576,057, and in 1900, \$1,394,483,082, an increase of 318 per cent. The imports per capita in 1860 were \$11.24, and in 1900, \$10.88; the exports per capita in 1860 were \$10.61, and in 1900, \$17.96.

The growth in domestic manufactures is suggested by the fact that the importations of raw silk have grown from 583,589 pounds in 1870 to 13,043,714 pounds in 1900; of india rubber, from 9,624,098 pounds in 1870 to 49,377,138 pounds in 1900, and the domestic cotton consumed by American mills, from 979,000 bales in 1860 to 3,644,000 bales in 1900. The railways in operation have been extended from 30,626 miles in 1860 to 194,321 miles in 1900; the receipts of the Post-Office Department, from \$8,518,067 in 1860 to \$102,354,579 in 1900; the number of post-offices have increased from 28,498 in 1860 to 76,688 in 1900, and the salaries paid in public schools, from \$17,872,366 in 1870 to \$136,031,838 in 1900.

Protection Supersedes Free Trade.—The inauguration of Presi-

dent McKinley was quickly followed by the substitution of a protective tariff for the Democratic principles of free trade, under which the country had experienced unexampled suffering, and by the enactment of legislation firmly establishing the gold standard as the basis of the currency of the nation. The changes which have followed in the condition of the business of the country and of all classes of our citizens not only fully justify that action but have proved the most remarkable in the history of this country.

Business Activity Under Protection.—From a condition of the greatest business depression, lack of employment and suffering among those dependent upon our industries, the country quickly passed to a state of the greatest business activity, in which employment was given to all who might desire it, and at wages higher than ever before. With this came an unexampled demand for the products of the farm, the forests, and the mines, and a development of the manufacturing and other industries heretofore unknown. The home markets for manufactures were fully supplied and the surplus products of the workshops were sent into the markets of the world, until now the exportation of manufactures constantly exceeds the importation of manufactures, a condition never known in the history of the country prior to 1897. Meantime the manufacturers' demand for the raw materials not produced in the United States has so increased that manufacturers' materials now form about one-half of the total importations of the country.

Value of Products Increased.—The demand of the busy and well-paid workman for the products of the farm has so stimulated production that the value of farm products has doubled, while the product of the mines has also greatly increased. With the surplus which these enlarged operations in the field and mine and factory have furnished, our domestic exports have come to exceed those of any other country of the world, and the United States has permanently placed herself at the head of the world's list of great exporting nations. The balance of trade in our favor has become the greatest known, not only in the history of the United States, but in the history of nations. The excess of exports over imports in the 108 years, from 1790 to March 4, 1897—from the first year under the Constitution to the inauguration of William McKinley—was \$383,028,497, while the excess of the five years from March 4, 1897, to March 4, 1902, was \$2,707,993,194, or more than seven times as much in this five-year period as in the entire 108 years preceding. The excess of exports over imports in each year since 1897 has been greater than that of the entire 108 years prior to 1897.

Advance in Wages.—The prosperity of the people which has accompanied this activity of production, manufacturing, and exportation has been equally marked in every branch of industry. Wages have advanced, the number of persons employed has greatly increased, the products of the farm have doubled in value, and the earnings and savings of the people have largely increased. The deposits in the savings banks of the country, those depositories of the surplus funds of the workingman, the pensioner, the widow, and the orphan, were \$690,000,000 greater in the single year 1901 than in 1896. The individual deposits in the national banks of the country were \$1,298,064,839 greater in 1901 than in 1896. Thus the individual deposits in the savings and national banks of the country now exceed those of 1896 by the enormous sum of \$1,938,003,142. Official records show great prosperity among those engaged in each and all of the great industries of the country, the farmer, the manufacturer, and his millions of wage-earners, and those engaged in the mines and forests.

Increase in Farm Values.—The value of the live stock on the farms of the country, which was reported by the Agricultural Department in 1896 at \$1,727,926,084, is reported at \$1,981,054,115 by the Census of 1900, an increase of \$253,128,031. With the increased activity, increased earnings, and increased consumption the farmer has received greatly increased prices for his productions. The Agricultural Department reports an increase of more than \$350,000,000 in the farm value of the cereals alone in 1900 as compared with 1896, these figures being those of the actual value upon the farm before leaving the hands of the producer, while other articles of farm production show an equal advance in value. The exportation of agricultural products increased from \$570,000,000 in 1896 to \$944,000,000 in 1901, an increase of \$374,000,000 in the mere surplus remaining after supplying the great and rapidly expanding home market.

Mining Industries Prosperous.—In the great mining industries, so closely dependent for their prosperity upon the activity of the manufacturer, the increase has been equally striking, and the millions dependent upon them for a livelihood have shared in the general prosperity of the country. The number of persons engaged in coal mining alone has increased by more than 50,000, and the coal production of the United States has grown from 171,000,000 tons in 1896 to 261,000,000 tons in 1901, an increase of over 50 per cent in five years, thus making the United States the greatest coal-producing nation of the world. In iron and steel the United States has also taken front rank among the world's producers, the production of pig iron having increased from 8,623,127 tons

in 1896 to 15,878,354 in 1901, and of steel, from 5,281,689 tons in 1896 to 10,188,329 tons in 1900; while the exportation of iron and steel manufactures has increased from \$41,160,877 in 1896 to \$117,319,320 in 1901.

Activity in Manufacturing.—In the great manufacturing industries the activity of the manufacturer and the earnings of the workman show equal and striking improvement. The cotton manufacturers have increased their consumption of domestic cotton from two and a half million bales in 1896 to over three and a half millions in 1901. The number of iron furnaces in blast has increased from 159 in 1896 to 266 in 1901, and the manufacture of tin plate has grown from less than 40,000,000 pounds in 1894 to 678,000,000 pounds in 1900. The number of wage-earners engaged in the manufacturing industries alone increased from 4,251,613 in 1890 to 5,231,687 in 1900, and their wages from \$1,891,228,321 in 1890 to \$2,330,273,021 in 1900. The home market has been more and more supplied with home manufactures, and the exportation of manufactures has grown from \$228,000,000 in 1896 to \$412,000,000 in 1901.

Foreign Trade.—The manufacturers of the United States continued to send large amounts of their goods to foreign countries. The exportation of manufactures during the eleven months ending with May, 1902, is greater than that of any preceding year, except in iron and steel. The total exports of manufactures for the eleven months ending with May amount to \$371,647,609, against \$378,533,496 in the eleven months of 1901, or only \$6,885,887 less than those of last year. The exports of iron and steel manufactures for the eleven months are \$90,780,571, against \$109,483,827 in the corresponding months of last year, a reduction of \$18,703,256. From this it would appear that the exports of manufactures other than iron and steel are \$11,817,369 greater than in the corresponding months of the preceding year. The exports of manufactures other than iron and steel are, for the eleven months ending with May, 1902, \$280,867,038. For the eleven months ending with May, 1901, they were \$269,049,669. For the eleven months ending with May, 1900, they were \$283,050,704, but when it is remembered that these figures included the exports to Porto Rico and Hawaii, which are not included in those of 1901 and 1902, it becomes apparent that the exports of manufactures other than iron and steel in the eleven months of the present fiscal year are greater than those for the same period in any preceding year in the history of our commerce.

While the exports of iron and steel have been decreasing, importations of iron and steel have been increasing.

The following table shows the imports and exports of iron and steel manufactures in eleven months of each of the fiscal years 1900, 1901, and 1902:

Eleven months.	Imports of iron and steel.	Exports of iron and steel.
1900	\$18,689,857	\$110,088,875
1901	16,408,906	108,488,827
1902	23,544,325	90,780,571

From this it will be seen that the importations of iron and steel manufactures have materially increased during the three years, and the exportations of iron and steel materially decreased. The cause of this change in the condition of the foreign commerce in iron and steel is discussed in the report of the Iron and Steel Association, as follows:

"A marked change has taken place in our foreign trade in iron and steel since this subject was prominently referred to in our annual reports in 1899 and 1900. In 1899 and immediately preceding years the iron and steel industries of Europe were exceptionally prosperous; there was an active demand and prices were high. In the years just prior to 1899 the prices of iron and steel in the United States were lower than they had ever been. Under these conditions we naturally found opportunities to dispose of our surplus iron and steel products in neutral markets and even in the home markets of our European competitors. But these conditions have materially changed; the European demand and European prices have declined and the home demand upon our own iron and steel works has greatly increased, while our prices have advanced; hence sharper competition in neutral and all foreign markets and increased foreign competition in our own markets.

"The figures of increased imports and decreased exports of iron and steel should not be hastily dismissed by our iron and steel manufacturers. We hope that they will lead them instead to dismiss the thought that the world's markets for iron and steel are to be easily captured and held. The activity in our export trade in iron and steel in the last few years was exceptional and abnormal. Not only is Europe adopting our improved methods of manufacture, but it will always have cheap labor, and by these agencies it can hold its own markets and actively and aggressively contend for the possession of neutral markets. For our iron and steel industries, as well as for all other domestic manufacturing industries, our home market must always be our best market."

The following table shows the exports, by principal classes, during the eleven months ending with May, 1901, and 1902, respectively:

Products.	1901.	1902.
Agriculture	2884,424,916	\$805,622,456
Manufactures	378,583,496	371,647,609
Mining	35,626,498	36,180,756
Forests	49,472,249	43,339,726
Fisheries	7,454,347	7,440,629
Miscellaneous	4,447,939	5,069,192
Total domestic	1,350,959,435	1,266,910,568
Foreign exports	25,081,293	22,467,850
Total exports	1,384,990,728	1,292,778,413

**AMERICAN INVASION OF EUROPE—THE UNITED STATES
COMPETING WITH EUROPEAN MANUFACTURERS IN
THEIR HOME MARKETS.**

"In the last six years we have sold in merchandise, produce, and manufactures \$2,000,000,000 more than we have bought, while in all our history, from the beginning of the Government up to six years ago, the foreign trade balance in our favor had aggregated a net total of only \$383,000,000."

This is the deliberate statement of Frank A. Vanderlip, former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, in an article on "The American Commercial Invasion of Europe," after nearly a year's travel and study of this subject in all the leading countries of Europe. Mr. Vanderlip went abroad to study the causes of the agitation in some continental countries for tariff combinations against the United States. He found, as have our American consuls in Europe, that it was due to the rapid recovery of American industrial development under the Dingley tariff and Republican protection to our industries. In the last two years there has been much agitation in Austria and other continental countries of Europe against "The American Peril" and the "American Danger." This agitation was due to the American invasion of European markets with American manufactures as well as American produce. By protecting our home industries we have not only taken from the European manufacturers the American market, but we have invaded the European market as serious competitors for their own home trade.

Mr. Vanderlip was offered unusual facilities for obtaining the views of men most influential in political life and commercial affairs in Europe, and he says:

European Statesmen Alarmed.—"The subject I discussed with these distinguished foreigners is one regarding which our public

has been pretty thoroughly enlightened in the last five years, and it is one of which the European public has heard almost as much in the English and continental newspapers, but from quite an opposite point of view. When the amount of our sales to foreign countries passed the \$1,000,000,000 mark in 1897, we began to congratulate ourselves on the strides we were making in the markets of the world. The record was followed by steadily growing totals, until now we have, in a twelvemonth, sent to other nations commodities to the value of \$1,500,000,000. The meaning of that total is emphasized if we look back and find it compares with an average during the ten years ending 1896 of \$825,000,000.

look back and find it compares with an average during the ten

"While our sales to foreign countries have grown so prodigiously, the other side of our financial account during these last five or six years has shown no proportionate increase. We have bought from the foreigners an average of only \$800,000,000 a year, and that total has shown little tendency to expand. It was this fact, this mighty development of our sales, while our purchases were comparatively on a declining scale, which piled up in half a dozen years a favorable trade balance so enormous as to startle the world. In the last six years we have sold in merchandise, produce, and manufactures \$2,000,000,000 more than we have bought, while in all our history, from the beginning of the Government up to six years ago, the foreign trade balance in our favor had aggregated a net total of only \$383,000,000.

"The significance of these surprising totals was recognized on both sides of the Atlantic. An analysis of them brought out features more important than the vastness of the aggregate. Heretofore our sales had been made up almost wholly of foodstuffs and raw

als. Europe was the workshop. But that has changed, and year after year, an astonishing increase in our exports of manufactured articles, an increase that in the last two or three years totals which gave ample basis for the popular talk of our the European industrial fields. Our exports of manufactured articles in the decade prior to 1897 averaged \$163,000,000 in 1898 our sales of manufactured articles to foreign jumped to \$290,000,000, the next year to \$339,000,000, the \$1,000,000.

Decline.—"These figures, showing a steady invasion by manufacturers of foreign industrial fields, have a natural corollary. As our exports of manufactures increased, our imports of the work of foreign shops showed an even more rapid decline. Manufacturers were not only invading the foreigner's own market, but meeting him at his threshold with a new competition, but the taking away from him his greatest market—the United

States. We have in the last half dozen years been manufacturing for ourselves a vast amount of goods, such as we have been accustomed to buy abroad.

"One can turn from a contemplation of these great totals to an examination of the records made in recent years by individual industries, and find in detail facts upon which to base a belief that the United States has acquired, or is acquiring, supremacy in the world's markets. So many industries have been sending rapidly increasing contributions to swell the rising tide of our foreign commerce that it is difficult to tell any detailed story of American commercial expansion without making it read like a trade catalogue. The increase in our exports of manufactured articles can, in the main, be traced to advances made in the manufacture of iron and steel, and to the display of inventive talent in the making of machinery. The development of our grasp on the world's markets for articles manufactured from iron and steel has been no surprise to those who early recognized the position of America in respect to the raw materials from which those articles are produced. America unquestionably possesses advantages, in respect to her iron ore and her coal mines, far superior to those of any other country, and, based solely upon that superiority, has already become the greatest producer of iron and steel in the world.

American Locomotives in Europe.—"American locomotives running on American rails now whistle past the Pyramids and across the long Siberian steppes. They carry the Hindoo pilgrims from all parts of their empire to the sacred waters of the Ganges. Three years ago there was but one American locomotive in the United Kingdom; to-day there is not a road of importance there on which trains are not being pulled by American engines. The American locomotive has successfully invaded France. The Manchurian Railway, which is the real beginning of Oriental railway building, bought all its rails and rolling stock in the United States. American bridges span rivers on every continent. American cranes are swinging over many foreign moles. Wherever there are extensive harvests there may be found American machinery to gather the grain. In every great market of the world tools can have no better recommendation than the mark 'Made in America.'

"We have long held supremacy as a producer of cotton. We are now gaining supremacy as makers of cloth. American cottons are finding their way into the markets of every country. They can be found in Manchester, as well as on the shores of Africa and in the native shops of the Orient. Bread is baked in Palestine from flour made in Minneapolis. American windmills are working east of the

Jordan and in the land of Bashan. Phonographs are making a conquest of all tongues. The Chrysanthemum banner of Japan floats from the palace of the Mikado on a flag-staff cut from a Washington forest, as does the banner of St. George from Windsor Castle. The American type-setting machines are used by foreign newspapers, and our cash-registers keep accounts for scores of nations. America makes sewing-machines for the world. Our bicycles are standards of excellence everywhere.

Our Typewriters.—"Our typewriters are winning their way wherever a written language is used. In all kinds of electrical appliances we have become the foremost producer. In many European cities American dynamos light streets and operate railways. Much of the machinery that is to electrify London tram lines is now being built in Pittsburg. The American shoe has captured the favor of all Europe, and the foreign makers are hastening to import our machinery that they may compete with our makers. In the Far East, in the capital of Korea, the Hermit Nation, there was recently inaugurated, with noisy music and flying banners, an electric railway, built of American material, by a San Francisco engineer, and now it is operated by American motormen.

"One might go on without end, telling in detail the story of American industrial growth and commercial expansion. In the list of our triumphs we would find that American exports have not been confined to specialties nor limited as to markets. We have been successfully meeting competition everywhere. America has sent coals to Newcastle, cotton to Manchester, cutlery to Sheffield, potatoes to Ireland, champagnes to France, watches to Switzerland, and "Rhine wine" to Germany.

"I have generally looked upon the development of our country as only one of the incidents in the remarkable period which we have been enjoying, and has not, perhaps, its full significance. The European, I found, has a real understanding of the situation."

met in St. Petersburg M. de Witte, the Russian ambassador, and this man, who shapes the policies of the empire, said to him:

"By one of the richest countries in the world; resources quite the richest. There we find little natural richness, but combined with that pronounced initiative met with anywhere. With all the country is bound to make the very greatest progress go on and on, and will be greater and still greater. Especially fortunate in that she has no great military rival is the nightmare and the ruin of every other minister."

"The American Danger."—On this same subject Frank H. Mason, consul-general in Berlin, one of the oldest and most experienced representatives of this Government in the consular service, confirms the observations of Mr. Vanderlip. In an official report on "The Commerce and Industries of Germany" made in November, 1901, Mr. Mason says:

"The trade balance of the United States at the close of the fiscal year 1901 produced a profound impression in this country. It seemed to confirm the direst predictions of a certain class of economic writers, who since 1898 have been saying that the time was rapidly coming when European nations would be forced to combine for mutual protection against the American Republic. The financial and daily press were filled with dissertations on 'The American Danger,' and the Central Bureau for the Preparation of Commercial Treaties at Berlin published a brochure by Baron von Waltershausen, professor of political economy in the University of Strassburg, which discussed elaborately the whole subject under five heads, viz: (1) "The United States trade balance," (2) "Exports of manufactures," (3) "Nature of United States imports," (4) "The United States as creditor in the world's economic system," and (5) "Measures of protection for European countries, notably Germany." Rarely if ever elsewhere has the new position of the United States among nations been more powerfully and vividly pictured than in this memorable essay, in which it was shown, among many other things, that whereas hardly six years ago the Deutscher Bank took about one-fourth of a \$100,000,000 loan issued by the United States Government, the American trade balances of the last three fiscal years, 1898, 1899, and 1900, has reached the amazing total of \$1,622,000,000—almost double the war indemnity paid by France to Germany—and has reversed the position of the Union and made it the creditor instead of the debtor of Europe." The learned professor sees in the future only increasing indebtedness of Europe to America; the absorption by American capital of European state, municipal, and industrial securities, with the resulting diminished ability of the Old World to endure taxation; the growth of unproductive indebtedness; emigration of manufacturers and skilled operatives; transplanting of industries; diminished employment for labor; and, finally, weakening of national financial and military strength. "The United States, on the contrary," says the memorial, "will, with increasing growth of their economic power, gain in political might. Already they enlarge their Army and Navy. They will in the future acquire colonies, call the Pacific Ocean their own, and realize their ideal of international arbitration by becoming themselves the arbitrators."

European Customs Union Suggested.—"Against this ominous

future Professor von Waltershausen—who on this point voices with substantial accuracy the most intelligent opinion of Germany and confirms the enunciation made by Dr. Vosburg-Rekow a year ago—concludes that the formation of a European customs union against the United States is impracticable, owing to international and racial rivalries and jealousies, and that it only remains for the different European states, when negotiating commercial treaties between themselves, to differentiate against the United States by excluding American imports from the special rates granted to each other, and, further, to agree upon measures to be adopted by all European states in case of a tariff war between any one of them and the American Republic. Finally, the Professor recommends to Germany a general or maximum tariff, with elastic facility to increase the rates to any point that may be necessary for protection against the American invasion."

Frederick Emory, Chief of the Bureau of Foreign Commerce in the State Department, in his review of the "World's Commerce in 1901," says that "the commercial reports of diplomatic and consular officers for the calendar year 1901 record continued growth in the sales of many lines of manufactures from the United States in foreign markets, and the increase of the general concern in Europe as to the possible results of our industrial competition."

In Austria-Hungary, as well as in Germany, the imports from the United States are increasing rapidly, in spite of the agitation for a tariff union of European countries against America. At a recent conference in Vienna to take measures against American competition, Consul-General Hurst says, "it was openly acknowledged that the commercial policy of the present time is dictated and controlled by the United States."

Supplying Europe with Goods We Used to Import.—"The same lesson is felt in France, in Belgium, in Switzerland, in Great Britain—in other words, in all of the highly developed manufacturing countries of Europe, and it is a most significant fact that, in specialties which were once thought to be exclusively their the United States is becoming a more and more formidable competitor. Who would have imagined a few years ago that we make such rapid progress in the manufacture of silk that we could soon cease buying silks from France, with the exception of highly finished goods, and would actually be exporting silks to that country? Yet that is what has happened. So of tin plate in Wales. At one time it was doubtful whether we could manufacture tin plate profitably, and it was confidently asserted that the Welsh must always control the American trade. But we now manufacture all the tin plate we need, and the Welsh have recently exported tin bars from us.

"There are, indeed, surprisingly few of the articles which used to be obtained exclusively abroad that are not now produced in the United States. The woolen as well as the silk industry of France and the hosiery industry of Germany are said to be suffering severely from our competition, and the Bohemian glass industry is feeling the effect of the increase of glass manufacture in the United States. Our cottons are steadily gaining in taste and finish, and are now sold in England in competition with the Manchester product.

"Says the *Leipziger Tageblatt* of April 10, 1901:

'Even in fancy articles, in which the European market has set the styles for the entire world, the American manufacturers are beginning to compete with the European. British calico prints are already receiving competition from America. We hear that travelers of a well-known American house have offered American cotton stuffs in England with much success, and the London authorities declare them to be tasteful and worth their price.'

American Cottons.—"A New York company manufacturing cotton stuffs intends to found a Paris house which shall introduce its fancy woven stuffs for women's dresses, and trimmed women's hats are being exported from the United States to Europe. 'The reversible cloths which are made in the United States,' said Consul Sawter, of Glauchau, in a report sent in 1900, 'are now the style in high-priced goods in the German capital.'

"In agriculture, as in manufactures, we are constantly widening the sphere of our production. The orange and lemon growers of southern Europe are feeling the effect of California's competition. 'It is ridiculous,' exclaims a Spanish newspaper, 'to think that fruits and vegetables raised on the slopes of the distant Pacific should compete at the very doors of Spain with those produced in this country. * * * Shall we live to see American oranges on the Valencia market itself?' We are producing our own raisins, our prunes, our wines, our olive oil, and are sending them abroad. California prunes now compete in Europe with Bosnian prunes, once a staple article of export to New York.

"In the busy manufacturing district of Liege, Belgium, according to the annual report of Consul Winslow, more American goods are consumed than ever before, in spite of business depression. 'Our sales in general,' says Mr. Winslow, 'have doubled in the past three years, and it is now common to see articles marked 'Americaine' in the shop windows.' Spanish journals complain that steel rails are imported from the United States, notwithstanding the production of iron is one of the important industries of Spain. Vice-Consul Wood, of Madrid, says our goods are to be seen everywhere,

and include such American specialties as hair-clipping machines, dental supplies, typewriters, electric motors, etc.

"The people of Europe, it may be assumed, therefore, are not less but more favorably inclined to goods of American origin, and the falling off in our exports, so far as they are concerned, is to be attributed to temporary causes, such as business depression, reducing their purchasing power, with the natural result of falling prices, or to discrimination against our products. The reduction is also found to be due in part to the elimination of the Hawaiian Islands and Porto Rico from the Treasury tables of exports to foreign countries and to trade conditions in the United States, such as those affecting the exports of copper, which have checked the outflow of manufactured goods.

Conditions in Undeveloped Markets.—"The relation of the economic forces of the United States to those of Europe may be taken as the surest index to the probable future of our trade with the rest of the world, for it must be evident that if we can continue to compete with European industries in their home markets we shall have but little to fear from their rivalry in the neutral or undeveloped markets, where we would meet them on an equal footing. Even in Canada, notwithstanding a preferential tariff of 33 1-3 per cent in favor of British imports, we continue, says Consul-General Bittinger, of Montreal, to enjoy 'more of Canadian customs than the rest of the world put together,' and many classes of goods which some years ago were bought in Great Britain are now more cheaply and more conveniently purchased in the United States. Last year our sales to Canada amounted to more than \$110,000,000, while those of Great Britain were only about \$43,000,000. In Mexico, Consul-General Barlow reports, the purchases from the United States show a large increase—over \$4,000,000, or 11.8 per cent.—while those from every other country exporting largely to Mexico, except Germany, show a heavy decrease. The German gain was only about \$411,000, or 5.8 per cent. In the reports from Central America and South America there are gratifying indications of substantial growth in the sales of our goods, and we are steadily widening the variety of our exports to Africa, Asia, Australia—in other words, to every part of the world."

Our flag is there—rightfully there; as rightfully there as the flag that floats above me is here; and it is there, not as the flag of tyranny or as the symbol of slavery, but it is there for what it is here and for what it is everywhere—justice and liberty and right and civilization.—President McKinley at Warren, O., Oct. 18, 1899.

COMMERCE OF THE WORLD IN 1901.

The following table shows the imports and exports of all countries for which statistics have been received by the Bureau of Foreign Commerce:

Countries.	Imports.	Exports.
United States.	\$880,421,000	\$1,465,880,900
United Kingdom.	2,541,476,100	1,365,048,400
Germany.	1,420,150,000	1,180,788,900
France.	909,807,800	804,089,800
Switzerland.	211,887,400	160,556,800
Belgium.	425,690,800	352,686,800
Italy (11 months)	826,708,200	249,232,100
Austria.	845,567,000	383,507,400
Spain (11 months)	148,109,400	117,678,800
Bulgaria.	13,518,500	15,974,600
Russia (9 months)	235,556,600	272,048,200
Canada.	190,415,000	177,839,000
Mexico.	65,088,400	70,880,400
Brazil (7 months)	49,117,700	94,628,800
Argentina.	100,971,100	161,246,000
Uruguay (9 months)	18,797,100	22,352,400
Egypt.	75,855,700	77,758,800
British India.	296,772,700	367,642,000
Cape Colony (11 months)	87,749,800	44,796,500

Free trade is the voice of interest and selfishness in principle; protection is the voice of intelligent labor and development.—Hon. Wm. McKinley in House of Representatives, April 6, 1882.

You may try the system of protection by any test you will, I care not what it is, and it meets every emergency, it answers every demand. More than that, it has not been against the Government, either in peace or in war.—Major McKinley at Niles, Ohio, August 22, 1891.

Free trade results in giving our money, our manufactures, and our markets to other nations; protection keeps money, markets, and manufactures at home.—Major McKinley at Beatrice, Nebr., August 2, 1892.

Protection has vindicated itself. It can not be helped by eulogy or hurt by defamation; it has worked its own demonstration and presents in the sight of the whole world its matchless trophies.—Major McKinley at Beatrice, Nebr., August 2, 1892.

Stand up for America, and America will stand up for you.—Major McKinley to Republican Press Association of West Virginia, September 1, 1896.

DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURING—RESULTS OF PROTECTION AS SHOWN BY THE CENSUS REPORTS.

The development of the manufacturing industry in this country has been almost entirely within the period of Republican administration and a protective tariff. This is shown by the Census figures for 1900. In 1860, when the Republican party first elected a President, there were 140,433 manufacturing plants of all kinds, including the blacksmith shops at the crossroads, the village carpenter shop, and other like establishments. The total capital then invested in manufacturing was \$1,009,855,715, the total number of wage-earners 1,311,246, the total wages \$378,878,906, and the total value of the product \$1,885,861,676.

In 1900 there were 512,726 manufacturing plants with a total capital of \$9,874,664,087, the total number of wage earners 5,321,087, the total wages paid \$2,330,273,021, and the value of the products \$13,040,013,638. The increase in capital invested in manufacturing since the beginning of Republican administration and the protective tariff has been tenfold, of wage-earner nearly fivefold, of wages paid sevenfold, and of the value of the products about sevenfold, while the increase in population in the same time has more than doubled.

This development of the manufacturing industry has been continuous. In capital invested it was from \$1,009,855,715 in 1860 to \$2,118,208,769 in 1870; \$2,790,272,608 in 1880; \$6,525,156,486 in 1890, and \$9,874,664,087 in 1900. In wage earners the increase was from 1,311,246 in 1860 to 2,053,996 in 1870; 2,732,595 in 1880; 4,251,613 in 1890, and 5,321,087 in 1900. In wages paid the increase was from \$378,876,906 in 1860 to \$775,584,343 in 1870; to \$947,953,795 in 1880; to \$1,891,228,321 in 1890, and to \$2,330,273,021 in 1900.

In the value of the manufactured products the increases were from \$1,885,861,676 in 1860 to \$4,232,325,442 in 1870; to \$5,369,579,191 in 1880; to \$9,372,437,288 in 1890, and to \$13,040,013,638 in 1900.

It will be seen from these figures that the growth of manufacturing in this country has been steady and continuous under the policy of protection, and that the percentage of increase in wages paid has been greater than the percentage of increase in wage earners to show that there has been a gradual increase in the earning power of the employees. The increase in wages has been in the same ratio as the value of the output notwithstanding the great development in labor saving machinery.

The following table shows the number of establishments in the selected industries in 1900, the capital invested, the salaried officials, the wage earners, the cost of materials used and the value of the products:

TABLE 5.—TOTALS FOR SELECTED INDUSTRIES: 1900.

Industries.	Number of es- tablish- ments.	Capital.	Wage-earners.		Cost of materials used	Value of products, including custom work and repairing.
			Average number.	Total wages.		
Agregate for selected Industries	118,017	\$5,616,515,569	2,355,174	\$900,085,946	\$4,044,030,827	\$6,516,255,985
Textiles.....	4,610	1,098,092,907	682,978	219,229,285	589,919,428	906,929,895
Wool manufactures.....	2,689	413,775,713	264,921	102,409,302	250,805,214	427,403,020
Woolen goods.....	186	136,169,502	59,551	24,403,282	72,227,104	124,008,712
Worsted goods.....	191	81,490,904	89,387	24,855,027	75,581,616	118,703,710
Hosiery and knit goods.....	173	44,410,509	88,431	11,121,583	51,071,859	93,482,506
Carpets and rugs, other than rag.....	105	16,772,929	18,890	6,110,593	27,228,719	48,102,451
Knobby.....	36	7,452,576	1,993	745,348	13,613,608	27,811,187
Wool goods.....	24	2,159,532	2,108	1,023,595	4,675,102	6,730,974
Wool hats.....	25	1,031,125	730	385,606	8,801,028	6,461,661
Wool scouring.....	25	467,340,127	392,861	86,617,532	2,042,202	8,801,661
Cotton manufactures.....	1,051	467,340,127	297,490	86,126,510	176,531,527	889,809
Cotton goods.....	900	460,429,772	297,490	86,126,510	178,441,500	889,809
Cotton, small wares.....	82	6,807,885	4,632	1,963,442	8,110,157	332,804,455
Textiles—Continued.....						6,894,104
Silk and silk goods.....	488	81,089,901	65,416	20,982,104	62,406,605	107,256,258
Dyeing and finishing textiles.....	398	60,443,104	29,776	12,726,315	17,858,137	44,663,351
Cordage and twine.....	105	29,275,770	13,114	1,131,112	26,692,009	57,840,661
Jute and jute goods.....	18	7,627,393	3,267	1,181,780	5,615,502	6,883,717
Linen goods.....	118	1,684,900	3,268	1,094,809	2,515,517	4,108,149
Iron and steel.....	735	580,041,710	296,161	122,710,108	540,127,092	865,730,054
Rolling in iron and steel works.....	438	429,040,043	183,023	102,383,092	380,568,117	506,588,834
Railroad furnaces.....	228	149,150,292	89,241	18,484,400	131,568,975	206,736,557
Forges and bloomeries.....	7	7,650,047	3,671	1,889,917	26,785,130	31,693,011
Cheese, butter, and condensed milk.....	9,851	86,401,708	29,265	97,184	109,127,100	522,512
Cheese and butter, urban dairy products.....	9,242	86,288,748	12,704	6,143,951	106,831,107	131,183,338
Cheese and wood pulp.....	768	209,051	64	25,100	108,831,107	130,710,490
Paper and printing.....	768	167,427,713	40,646	20,746,026	70,580,291	127,299,182
Carriages and wagons.....	7,692	118,187,892	12,190	6,717,087	102,850,271	120,629,384
Carriage and implements.....	715	157,707,953	46,540	22,454,070	56,671,073	121,557,276
Carriage and tire.....	6,422	147,012,923	105,512	22,454,070	22,464,184	101,107,458
Clay, brick and tile.....	6,422	147,012,923	61,604	19,824,993	22,464,184	98,149,892
Pottery, terra cotta, and fire-clay products.....	1,000	65,951,885	48,714	11,901,737	11,915,296	51,181,476
Gas, illuminating and heating.....	877	557,000,506	22,410	12,436,296	20,065,556	44,368,268

TABLE 5.—TOTALS FOR SELECTED INDUSTRIES: 1900—Continued.

Industries.	Number of establishments.	Capital.	Wage-earners.		Cost of materials used.	Value of products, including custom work and repairing.
			Average number.	Total wages.		
Shipbuilding.....	1,116	\$77,902,701	46,781	\$24,880,103	\$38,486,772	\$74,578,188
Shipbuilding, iron and steel.....	44	50,889,555	30,906	16,231,511	28,885,549	60,867,788
Ship and boat building, wooden.....	1,072	17,523,146	15,875	5,647,592	9,601,223	24,210,419
Glass.....	856	61,423,003	32,818	26,520,748	16,731,000	56,388,712
Coke.....	241	35,932,679	16,969	7,083,736	18,655,382	85,385,445
Turpentine and rosin.....	1,506	11,847,465	41,864	8,383,483	6,186,462	20,384,886
Oleomargarine.....	24	3,622,616	1,015	1,634,544	7,389,501	12,660,612
Salt.....	156	27,125,564	4,774	1,911,140	5,385,622	7,966,867
Sugar and molasses, beet.....	80	20,141,719	1,670	1,002,207	4,083,796	7,323,857
Slaughtering.....	921	186,108,264	68,584	33,467,013	683,585,577	786,603,670
Slaughtering and meat packing, wholesale.....	578	174,004,667	64,783	31,676,715	600,171,587	680,247,781
Slaughtering, not including meat packing.....	343	13,083,597	3,781	2,790,298	77,411,980	87,355,881
Lumber and timber products.....	88,035	61,611,524	28,260	10,640,561	31,732,548	506,382,464
Flouring and grist mill products.....	23,536	21,671,104	37,073	17,708,418	47,826,545	390,718,068
Smelting and refining.....	117	186,351,188	24,504	15,673,626	273,665,950	358,786,472
Lead, smelting and refining.....	46	72,483,063	8,511	5,088,684	144,185,163	178,466,504
Copper, smelting and refining.....	37	53,068,065	11,324	8,250,521	122,174,129	163,181,670
Zinc, smelting and refining.....	31	41,418,101	4,869	2,555,521	18,286,008	18,165,13
Liquors.....	2,850	437,674,667	44,417	25,005,464	70,912,042	340,616,466
Liquors, malt.....	1,824	46,284,468	30,732	2,520,211	51,674,928	27,266,713
Liquors, distilled.....	867	82,531,614	4,722	1,735,218	18,147,784	96,786,443
Liquors, vinous.....	1,860	6,858,583	1,163	44,053	8,686,580	16,547,510
Printing and publishing, newspapers and periodicals.....	1,600	101,735,238	142,622	59,173,883	169,604,054	290,023,580
Cars and general shop construction and repairs by steam railroad companies.....	15,503	192,445,708	64,604	60,383,061	66,214,504	12,863,566
Leather, tanned, curried, and finished.....	1,298	119,580,273	175,652	90,092,230	100,539,013	213,288,277
Chemical manufactures.....	1,498	173,077,431	42,100	32,501,031	155,003,004	304,984,127
Chemicals.....	1,740	238,534,541	46,765	21,740,261	124,963,857	232,822,986
Fertilizers.....	456	80,091,430	18,054	8,400,267	34,564,137	62,676,780
Paints.....	419	62,501,782	6,131	4,035,280	33,786,386	60,574,985
Varnishes.....	422	66,685,752	1,581	91,035,473	26,988,473	44,671,565
Explosives.....	181	17,550,862	1,466	1,035,468	10,938,031	18,687,240
Dye stuffs and extracts.....	87	14,665,846	4,301	2,889,756	10,553,074	17,125,418
Oil, essential.....	70	7,800,054	1,648	787,542	4,745,912	7,307,748
Bone, ivory, and lamp black.....	15	612,697	199	64,100	606,112	850,063
		782,247	85	46,407	105,712	356,787

**THE MAN WITH THE HOE—AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY
UNDER REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION, DEPRESSION
UNDER DEMOCRATIC RULE.**

"The 'Man with the Hoe' is the man with the 'dough.' This is a slangy expression but sustained by the statistics of the Agricultural Department, the Census, and those gathered by the non-partisan business agencies like Dun's Review. This has always been true under Republican administration and it is extravagantly true under this Republican administration. The farmer or "the man with the hoe" has in the last four years received a greater share of prosperity than any other representative of any other occupation. He has tickled the soil with his hoe to better purpose than ever before.

The farm value of the wheat, corn, and oat crops in 1901 was nearly double that of 1896, the last year of the Cleveland administration. This is rather a startling statement, but it is borne out by the Statistical Abstract, published by the Government and made up from the official figures which have no partisan bias.

For the year 1896 the farm value of the corn crop was \$491,006,967, that of the wheat crop \$310,602,539, and that of the oat crop \$132,485,033, the total farm value of the three crops for that year being \$934,094,538.

The farm value of the corn crop in 1901 was \$921,555,768, that of the wheat crop \$467,350,156, and that of the oat crop \$293,658,777, making the total farm value of the three crops, for 1901, \$1,682,564,701, or \$748,470,162 more than the farm value of the same crops in 1896. The farmer in 1901 received nearly double the amount of money for these three crops that he did in 1896, the last year of the Cleveland administration.

Increase in Farm Values.—This increase of farm values under Republican administrations is not accidental. It is a matter of history that rural prosperity and Republican rule are coincident. It is equally a matter of record that agricultural depression, mortgage foreclosures, and low prices for farm products accompany Democratic administration of national affairs. The prosperity of the farmer depends upon the prosperity of all other industrial elements of our population. When the industrial classes are employed at American wages their consumption of farm products is on a liberal scale, and they are able and willing to pay good prices for the necessities and luxuries of life. Under such conditions there is a good market for all the farmer has to sell. When the reverse is true and workmen are idle or working scant time at cut wages, they are forced to practice pinching economy and the farmer necessarily loses part of his market. The American farmer is pros-

perous when well-paid workmen are carrying well-filled dinner pails, a condition which has accompanied Republican supremacy since the birth of the party. Idle men, tramps, and soup-houses, familiar sights under Democratic rule, furnish but poor markets for farm produce.

The records for the last four administrations, which alternated between the Republican and Democratic parties, show that the farmers received more for their crops under Republican administrations than under Democratic administrations.

The farm value of the corn crops for the four years of Cleveland's first administration, from 1885 to 1889, aggregated \$2,569,653,980.

In the four years of the Harrison administration which followed, the farm value of the corn crop aggregated \$2,830,938,138, an increase in value of more than \$250,000,000 over that of this crop during the Cleveland administration.

For the next four years, while Mr. Cleveland was President and Democratic policies were in force, the farm value of the corn crop aggregated \$2,182,337,290, a decrease of \$750,000,000 from that during the Harrison administration.

Then came the Republican administration of William McKinley, and for the first four years of that administration the farm value of the corn crop aggregated \$2,433,526,524, or an increase of \$250,000,000 over that of the last Democratic administration.

Wheat and Oats.—The same law of fluctuation according to political policies in administration held good as to wheat and oats. The farm value of the wheat crop for the four years of the first Cleveland administration aggregated \$1,285,407,400, and for the next four years, including the Harrison administration, the farm value of the wheat crop aggregated \$1,512,859,986, an increase of \$227,000,000 in the farm value of wheat over that for the preceding Democratic administration.

For the next four years, under the second Cleveland administration, the farm value of the wheat crop aggregated \$987,614,943, a shrinkage of \$525,000,000 in the value of the wheat crop from the preceding four years under Republican administration.

Again came a change of policy in Government, and during the first four years of the McKinley administration the wheat crop took another advance in value. For these four years of the McKinley administration the farm value of the wheat crop aggregated \$1,464,387,577, an increase in value amounting to nearly \$500,000,000.

The farm value of the oat crop in the four years of the first Cleveland administration aggregated \$761,943,820; for the next four years, under the Harrison administration, the farm value of the oat crop increased to \$835,395,372; for the next four years, under

Cleveland, this crop decreased in value to \$698,533,113, and for the next four years, under the McKinley administration, it increased to \$741,217,291.

The farm value of the hay crop in 1896 was \$388,145,614, and in 1900 it was \$445,538,870.

The farm value of the potato crop in 1896 was \$72,182,350 and in 1900 it was \$90,811,167.

Horses and Mules.—The farm value of 15,124,057 horses in 1896 was \$500,140,186, while the farm value of 13,537,442 horses in 1900 was \$603,969,442. There were a million and a half more horses in the country in 1896 than in 1900, and they were worth \$100,000,000 less. Such was one of the disastrous results of Democratic administration for the farmers.

The same was true as to mules. In 1896 there were 2,276,946 mules in the country and they were valued at \$103,204,457. In 1900 there were only 2,086,027 mules in the country and their value was \$111,717,092.

In 1896 there were 16,137,556 milch cows and their value was \$363,955,545. In 1900 there were 16,292,360 milch cows and their value was \$514,812,106.

The number of oxen and other cattle in 1896 was 32,085,409 and their value \$508,928,416. In 1900 there were 27,610,054 oxen and other cattle and their value was \$689,486,260.

And then look at the sheep, the special victims of the Democratic administration! In 1896 the sheep had been reduced to 38,298,783 and their value was \$65,167,735, though in 1893 when Cleveland began his administration there were 47,273,553 sheep in the country and their value was \$125,909,264. In four years the flocks had been reduced by 9,000,000 and their value by \$60,000,000, or nearly one-half during the Democratic administration and its war on the sheep.

In 1900, owing to three years of protection under the administration of McKinley and the Dingley law, the sheep had increased to 41,683,065 and their value to \$122,665,913.

The story is not complete without the total value of all farm animals. In 1896, the last year of the Democratic administration, this aggregated \$1,727,926,084, and in 1900 it aggregated \$2,042,650,813.

The "man with the hoe" has only to look at the record to see which way points to prosperity.

The best statesmanship for America is that which looks to the highest interests of American labor and the highest development of American resources.—President McKinley, at Superior, Wis., October 12, 1899.

**HEAVY RAILROAD TRAFFIC—ENORMOUS TONNAGE ON
ALL THE RAILROADS OF THE UNITED STATES—RE-
PORTS FOR THE YEAR.**

Railroad earnings last year record the greatest movement of merchandise ever transported on the railroads in this country in any twelve months, says Dun's Review. The years 1899 and 1900 record an extra heavy traffic. Complete tonnage figures for 1900 show a total movement on all the roads of the country of 1,071,431,919 tons, yet earnings this year show an increase of 10 per cent over 1900. Total gross earnings of all roads in the United States reporting for the year to date are \$1,394,333,922, a gain of 10.7 per cent over last year and 20.0 over 1899. Roads reporting embrace 160,000 miles, seven-eighths the total mileage of the country, and the figures are practically complete for eleven months; for December only partial reports are included. All classes of roads report a substantial increase in earnings, but the most noteworthy gain is on Southwestern and Pacific roads and on Central Western roads. Earnings of anthracite coal roads were heavy compared with 1900, but earnings of anthracite coal companies were unfavorably affected by labor troubles in 1900. Comparison is made below, roads being classified by sections or chief classes of traffic and earnings are given for both years, also percentage showing comparison with 1899:

	Year.		1901-1900.*	Per cent.	
	1901.	1900.		1901-1900.	1900-1899.
Trunk	\$844,168,106	\$816,776,296	\$27,391,810	+ 8.6	+22.4
Anthracite coal	129,618,281	111,023,747	18,594,534	+16.7	+ 5.3
Other Eastern	100,756,008	95,022,280	5,733,728	+ 6.0	+12.2
Central Western	115,171,800	104,800,800	10,370,999	+10.1	+24.9
Transients	181,790,680	16,934,732	12,425,057	+ 7.3	+13.3
Southern	164,036,636	151,461,886	12,565,290	+ 7.1	+21.7
South Western	177,894,206	152,139,426	25,754,840	+17.0	+34.0
Pacific	181,439,451	150,555,870	21,883,581	+13.7	+30.1
United States roads	1,394,333,922	1,259,914,587	134,419,335	+10.7	+20.0
Canadian	89,067,577	29,365,928	5,701,649	+12.3	+17.3
Mexican	35,981,440	35,006,018	375,431	+ .1	+12.9
Total	1,462,782,948	1,314,286,533	138,496,415	+10.4	+19.2

*Gain.

While the earnings are larger than in 1900, it is probable that the increase in tonnage was not in the same ratio, for traffic was relatively larger last year in the higher classes of freight. The movement was especially large in merchandise and in manufactured articles. Shipments of coal were heavy, especially in the fall

months. So great was the demand to move freight that there was much delay a considerable part of the year because of the lack of rolling stock. Fortunately the grain movement, especially corn, was much below the usual tonnage, and as grain is carried at very low rates earnings were favorably affected by the movement of better paying freights. Comparison is given below of earnings of United States roads reporting for each year as compiled in Dun's Review; also the tonnage movement for each year except last for all railroads in the United States:

Year.	Gross earnings.	Total tonnage.	Year.	Gross earnings.	Total tonnage.
1901.....	\$1,374,333,922	1,071,481,919	1896.....	\$955,782,000	773,868,716
1900.....	1,230,914,587	975,789,941	1895.....	957,700,000	755,794,888
1899.....	1,186,648,152	912,973,253	1894.....	906,825,000	674,714,747
1898.....	1,071,753,000	788,385,448	1893.....	1,029,400,000	757,464,490
1897.....	1,000,703,000		1892.....	1,045,350,000	730,605,011

Comparison by months shows a gain each month over both years. There is some trifling irregularity due to conditions affecting the different roads; for example, lighter earnings in July this year compared with last was in part due to the steel strike, and relatively lighter earnings in December can be traced to the fact that in December, 1900, the heavy movement which set in after the Presidential election now comes in comparison. Earnings on many Western roads were considerably reduced in the third week of December this year by a severe storm blockade. The figures follow:

Date.	1901.	1900.	Gain	Per cent.	
				1901-1900.	1901-1899.
January.....	\$108,877,447	\$98,544,608	\$10,332,839	+10.5	+28.1
February.....	97,716,880	90,033,691	7,683,189	+ 8.5	+32.8
March.....	114,811,940	104,831,084	9,958,856	+ 9.5	+29.5
April.....	107,688,686	96,119,706	11,568,980	+12.0	+29.7
May.....	115,805,523	101,942,832	14,550,997	+14.3	+20.2
June.....	105,879,235	101,082,980	4,796,255	+ 4.7	+20.8
July.....	122,928,837	110,715,137	12,213,700	+11.0	+18.6
August.....	125,635,855	113,181,718	12,454,137	+11.0	+20.7
Septembers.....	124,965,720	114,542,644	10,423,076	+ 9.1	+ 5.5
October.....	138,236,683	119,691,811	18,544,872	+16.3	+20.0
November.....	96,527,488	85,514,765	10,812,723	+14.3	+17.0
December.....	25,753,814	25,195,002	558,812	+ 2.2	+14.4

The people are doing business on business principles, and should be let alone—encouraged rather than hindered in their efforts to increase the trade of the country and find new and profitable markets for their products.—President McKinley, at Richmond, Va., October 31, 1899.

**GROWTH OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY—A STRIKING
EXAMPLE OF PROTECTION.**

The growth of textile manufactures in the United States supplies a striking example of the value of protection to labor especially, and to the producer and consumer generally. The accompanying table shows the number of establishments, number of employees, wages paid, material used, value of product and capital employed in the great textile industries—wool, cotton, silk, and dyeing and finishing industries in the United States, as shown by each Census report from 1850 to 1900, and a statement of the imports of wool, cotton, and silk manufactures at decennial periods from 1868 down to date. The combined statement of the four great industries, wool, cotton, silk, and dyeing and finishing industry, shows an increase in the number of employees from 1850 to 1860, the low-tariff period, of only 47,000 persons employed, while the next decade, under protection, shows an increase of 80,000 persons, the next decade an additional increase of 110,000, the decade ending with 1890 an increase of 127,000, and for the decade ending in 1900 an increase of 171,000. Capital employed in the low tariff decade, 1850-1860, only increased from \$112,000,000 to \$150,000,000, while the next decade showed an increase from \$150,000,000 to \$297,000,000; the decade 1870-1880 from \$297,000,000 to \$412,000,000; the decade 1880-1890 from \$412,000,000 to \$740,000,000, and the last decade from \$740,000,000 to \$1,066,032,937: Wages paid are not shown by the 1850 Census, but those of 1860, at the end of the low-tariff period, amounted to \$40,000,000; by 1870 they had more than doubled, being \$86,000,000; by 1880 they were \$105,000,000; in 1890, \$175,000,000, and in 1901, \$219,229,265. The value of the product of these four great industries was in 1850 but \$128,000,000, and during that decade only increased \$86,000,000, while the average decennial increase under protection from 1860 to 1890 was over \$250,000,000, making the total value of the product of these four industries in 1890, \$722,000,000, and in 1900, \$966,924,835. Meantime prices of the manufactured products have very greatly decreased, so that the figures of value quoted represent a much larger decennial increase in quantity of articles produced than the mere statement of values would indicate.

The importations of raw silk are an accurate measure of the prosperity of the silk manufacturing industry, since all of the material of this character comes from abroad, and the following statement of the importations of raw silk from 1892, the last year of President Harrison's administration, to date, indicates the effect of the recent low-tariff period upon this industry.

Imports of raw silk into the United States.

1892	\$25,059,325
1893	29,836,986
1894	16,234,182
1895	22,626,056
1896	26,763,428
1897	18,918,263
1898	32,110,066
1899	32,479,627
1900 (May and June, estimated)	45,000,000

The textile industries of the United States at decennial periods, 1850 to 1900, showing relative growth under free trade and protection.

[Compiled from Census Reports.]

	Year.	No. of estab- lish- ments	Capital.	No. of em- ploy- ees.	Wages.	Cost of materials.	Value of product.
Wool manu- facture (a)...	1850	1,760	\$32,586,305	47,763	.....	\$29,246,696	\$49,636,881
	1860	1,673	42,849,932	59,522	\$13,861,602	46,649,365	80,734,606
	1870	3,456	132,882,319	119,859	40,857,235	134,154,615	217,608,826
	1880	2,689	159,091,869	161,657	47,889,087	164,371,551	267,252,913
	1890	2,489	296,494,481	219,132	76,660,742	203,095,572	337,768,524
	1900	2,636	415,075,713	264,021	92,499,262	250,805,214	427,905,020
Cotton manu- facture.....	1850	1,094	74,500,931	92,286	.....	34,835,056	61,869,184
	1860	1,491	98,585,269	122,028	23,940,108	57,285,534	115,681,774
	1870	956	140,706,291	135,369	39,044,132	111,736,936	177,489,739
	1880	756	208,280,346	174,659	42,040,510	102,206,347	162,090,110
	1890	905	354,020,843	221,585	69,489,272	154,912,979	267,981,724
	1900	1,051	467,240,157	302,861	86,689,752	176,551,527	339,198,619
Silk manufac- ture.....	1850	67	678,300	1,743	.....	1,093,860	1,809,746
	1860	139	2,926,980	5,435	1,050,324	3,901,777	6,607,771
	1870	86	6,231,130	6,649	1,942,286	7,817,559	12,210,662
	1880	382	19,125,300	31,337	9,146,705	22,467,701	41,083,045
	1890	472	51,007,537	50,913	19,689,318	51,004,425	87,298,454
	1900	483	81,082,201	65,416	20,982,194	62,406,665	107,256,258
Dyeing and finishing textiles	1850	104	4,418,350	5,105	.....	11,540,347	15,454,430
	1860	124	5,718,671	7,097	2,001,528	5,005,435	11,716,463
	1870 ^b	202	18,474,503	13,066	5,221,538	699,539,992	113,017,537
	1880	191	26,223,981	16,698	6,474,364	13,664,295	32,297,420
	1890	248	38,450,800	20,267	9,717,011	12,385,220	28,900,560
Combined tex- tiles.	1850	3,005	112,513,947	146,897	.....	76,715,959	128,769,971
	1860	3,002	150,080,852	194,082	40,353,462	112,842,111	214,740,614
	1870	4,710	297,694,243	274,943	86,565,191	353,249,102	520,386,764
	1880	4,018	412,721,496	384,251	105,059,656	302,709,894	552,674,488
	1890	4,114	739,973,661	511,897	175,497,343	421,398,196	721,949,262
	1900	4,609	1,066,032,937	682,978	219,229,265	539,919,428	966,924,835

^a Includes hosiery and knit goods.

^b In the Census of 1870 value of fabric was included; in all subsequent Cen-
suses only the value added to fabrics by dyeing and finishing is given.

**WOOL — PRODUCTION, IMPORTATION, CONSUMPTION,
PRICES, ETC., IN THE UNITED STATES UNDER FREE
TRADE AND PROTECTION.**

The table which follows presents the record of wool production, importation, and consumption, the importation of woollen manufactures in each year from 1875 to 1901, and the effect of free trade in wool upon the farmer and those engaged in manufacturing. The figures of importation are for fiscal years ending June 30, and therefore the Wilson low tariff, which became a law August 28, 1894, does not apply to the fiscal year ending June 30, 1894, except as to its effect in causing importers of wool and woollen goods to hold back their importations in order to bring them in under the new act, which promised free wool and a low tariff on woollen manufactures.

Under that act, which became operative in the second month of the fiscal year 1895, importations of foreign wool were greater than in any preceding year, and those of 1896 exceeded those of 1895, while those of the fiscal year 1897, all of which elapsed before the enactment of the Dingley law, July 24, 1897, were 350,852,026 pounds, or twice as much as in any year prior to the enactment of the Wilson law and three times as much as the average for the decade preceding that act. Prior to the enactment of the Wilson law the percentage of foreign wool used in the woollen manufactures of the United States ranged from 40 to more than 57 per cent, according to the figures of the Statistical Abstract, but since the enactment of the Dingley law has steadily fallen and was in 1899 only 19 per cent. of the consumption.

The value of foreign wool imported, which in the fiscal year 1897, the last year under the free-trade Wilson law, was \$53,243,191, was in the fiscal year 1899, under the protective Dingley law, but \$8,322,345, while the importation of woollen goods, which in 1896 under the Wilson act was \$53,493,400, was in 1899 \$13,832,621. This enormous importation of foreign wool and woolens so affected prices of wool that Ohio fine washed clothing wool, which had ranged for years at from 31 to 41 cents per pound, dropped in 1895 and 1896 to 18 cents per pound, but has since the enactment of the Dingley law again risen to 31 cents per pound. The effect upon farmers of the reduction in price of wool cannot be statistically stated so far as relates to the actual amount of money received for the wool grown, though it is probable that the sum received by them for their wool during the existence of the Wilson law was much less than one-half that of former years, as the production shows a marked decrease, and the price per pound, as already indicated, showed a fall of nearly one-half.

Under this tremendous shrinkage in value of the wool product,

the farmers in many cases disposed of their sheep, the exportation of sheep and mutton showing a large increase during the Democratic period, while the number of sheep on farms, as shown by the reports of the Department of Agriculture, fell from 47,273,553 to 36,886,643 and their value fell from \$125,909,264 to \$65,167,735, a loss of \$60,000,000 in value of sheep alone, to say nothing of the much greater loss in value of wool.

Wool production, imports, consumption, and manufacture in the United States; also price of wool and value of sheep on farms, 1875 to 1901.

[From the Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1899.]

Year ending June 30—*	Production.	Imports.	Per cent. of consumption, foreign.	Value of imports of wool and manufactures of.		Price of fine washed clothing, Ohio fleece, per pound.	Sheep on farms in the United States.†	
				Wool, raw.	Manufactures of wool.		Number.	Value.
	Pounds.	Pounds.				Cents.		
1875.	181,000,000	54,901,760	22.1	\$11,071,259	\$44,009,704	48	38,788,600	\$94,920,652
1876.	192,000,000	44,642,836	18.3	8,147,617	33,200,800	45	35,035,300	93,666,318
1877.	200,000,000	42,171,192	16.3	7,156,944	23,701,922	48	35,804,200	80,892,683
1878.	208,250,000	48,449,079	16.9	8,468,015	23,290,154	35	35,740,500	80,603,062
1879.	211,000,000	39,005,155	14.2	5,034,545	24,355,821	41	38,123,800	79,021,984
1880.	232,500,000	128,131,747	34.9	23,727,650	31,911,093	46	40,765,900	90,230,537
1881.	240,000,000	55,964,236	17.3	9,708,968	31,156,426	43	43,569,899	104,070,759
1882.	272,000,000	67,861,744	19.0	11,096,050	37,361,520	42	45,016,224	106,595,954
1883.	290,000,000	70,575,478	18.7	10,949,381	44,274,952	39	49,237,291	124,366,335
1884.	300,000,000	78,350,651	20.6	12,384,709	41,151,583	35	50,026,026	119,902,706
1885.	308,000,000	70,506,170	18.0	8,879,923	35,776,559	33	50,300,243	107,900,650
1886.	302,000,000	129,084,958	28.9	16,746,081	41,421,319	35	48,922,331	92,443,867
1887.	285,000,000	114,038,030	27.4	16,424,479	44,902,718	32	44,759,314	89,872,839
1888.	269,000,000	113,558,753	23.9	15,887,217	47,719,303	31	44,544,755	89,279,926
1889.	265,000,000	126,487,729	31.8	17,974,515	52,564,942	33	42,599,079	90,640,369
1890.	276,000,000	105,431,285	27.0	15,264,083	56,582,432	33	44,336,072	100,659,761
1891.	285,000,000	129,303,648	30.8	18,231,372	41,000,080	31	43,421,136	108,397,447
1892.	294,000,000	148,670,632	33.1	19,688,108	35,565,879	29	44,938,365	116,121,200
1893.	303,153,000	172,483,838	35.7	21,064,180	38,048,515	23	47,278,553	125,909,264
1894.	298,057,384	55,152,585	14.2	6,107,438	19,439,372	19	45,048,917	89,186,110
1895.	309,748,030	306,033,906	40.0	25,556,421	38,539,890	18	42,294,064	66,685,767
1896.	272,474,708	230,911,473	45.9	32,451,212	53,494,400	18	38,298,783	65,167,735
1897.	259,153,251	350,352,026	57.8	53,243,191	49,162,992	27	36,318,643	67,920,043
1898.	266,720,684	132,795,202	32.8	16,783,092	14,823,771	28½	37,656,960	92,721,133
1899.	272,191,330	76,736,209	19.2	8,322,345	13,832,621	31	39,114,453	107,907,530
1900.	288,636,621	155,923,455	34.4	20,200,396	16,164,446	.....	41,883,065	102,065,911
1901.	302,502,328	108,583,505	24.9	12,520,881	14,585,306	.....	.....	.....

* Except in number and value of sheep on farms and prices of wool.

† On October 1 of each year.

‡ On January 1 of year named.

§ Democratic and low-tariff years.

NOTE.—The importations of wool and woollen goods in the fiscal year 1894 were held back to obtain the reduction in duties by the Wilson act, then pending, and which went into effect August 28, 1894.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

Merchandise imported into, exported from, and retained for consumption in the United States, 1868 to 1901.

[From the Statistical Abstract.]

Year.	Imports.		Exports of domestic merchandise.			Retained for consumption, per capita.			
	Merchandise imported for consumption per capita.	Duty collected per capita.	Exports per capita.	Exports of agricultural products, per cent. of total exports.	Exports of products of manufacture, per cent. of total exports.	Raw cotton.	Wheat and wheat flour.	Raw wool consumed.	
								Total per capita.	Foreign.
				P. cent.	P. cent.	Lbs.	Bush.	Lbs.	P. cent.
1871.....	\$12.65	\$5.12	\$10.83	70.74	.....	14.10	4.69	5.73	29.4
1872.....	13.80	5.23	10.55	74.13	.....	11.10	4.79	6.75	45.3
1873.....	15.91	4.44	12.12	76.10	.....	15.19	4.81	5.67	33.2
1874.....	13.26	3.75	13.31	79.37	.....	13.60	4.46	4.81	17.5
1875.....	11.97	3.51	11.36	76.95	16.57	11.90	5.38	5.28	22.1
1876.....	10.29	3.22	11.64	71.67	17.08	14.77	4.89	5.21	18.3
1877.....	9.49	2.77	12.72	72.63	21.61	14.03	5.01	5.16	16.3
1878.....	9.21	2.67	14.30	77.07	17.79	13.71	5.72	5.28	16.9
1879.....	8.99	2.73	14.29	78.12	16.72	15.90	5.58	5.03	14.2
1880.....	12.51	3.64	16.43	83.25	12.48	18.94	5.35	6.11	34.9
1881.....	12.68	3.78	17.23	82.63	12.92	19.64	6.09	5.66	17.3
1882.....	13.64	4.12	13.97	75.31	18.38	16.15	4.98	6.36	19
1883.....	13.05	3.92	14.08	77.00	16.60	20.80	6.64	6.62	18.7
1884.....	12.16	3.47	13.20	73.98	18.81	16.0	5.64	6.85	20.6
1885*.....	10.32	3.17	12.94	72.96	20.25	15.16	6.77	6.69	18.0
1886*.....	10.89	3.30	11.60	72.82	20.50	19.59	4.57	7.39	28.9
1887*.....	11.65	3.65	11.98	74.40	19.45	16.84	5.17	6.68	27.4
1888*.....	11.53	3.60	11.40	73.23	19.05	19.59	5.62	6.31	28.9
1889.....	12.10	3.60	11.92	72.87	18.99	17.22	5.34	6.33	31.8
1890.....	12.35	3.62	13.50	74.51	17.87	18.50	6.09	6.03	27.0
1891.....	13.36	3.39	13.63	73.69	19.37	22.02	4.58	6.43	30.8
1892.....	12.44	2.66	15.53	78.69	15.61	24.03	5.91	6.72	33.1
1893†.....	12.64	2.97	12.44	74.05	19.02	17.07	4.85	7.05	35.7
1894†.....	9.32	1.90	12.73	72.23	21.14	15.91	3.41	5.08	14.2
1895†.....	10.48	2.14	11.37	69.73	23.14	22.43	4.54	6.32	40.0
1896†.....	10.66	2.20	12.11	66.02	26.43	18.40	4.78	6.88	45.9
1897†.....	10.34	2.37	12.17	66.33	26.87	18.46	3.38	8.26	57.8
1898.....	7.89	1.96	12.27	70.54	24.02	25.26	4.21	5.34	43.0
1899.....	9.02	2.66	13.84	65.20	23.13	27.14	5.95	4.40	32.8
1900.....	10.88	3.01	17.96	60.98	31.65	22.57	4.74	5.72	34.4
1901.....	10.58	3.06	18.31	64.62	28.22	22.17	3.95	5.18	24.9

* Democratic President, but Republican control of one branch of Congress.

† Democratic President and low tariff.

WEALTH AND SAVINGS.

[From the Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department.]

Years.	Wealth.*	Wealth per capita.	Public debt.	Debt per capita in Treasury.	Circulation of money.	Circulation per capita.	Deposits in savings banks.	Depositors in savings banks.	Individual deposits in national banks.
1880.....	\$42,642,000,000	\$85.20	\$2,120,415,871	\$98.27	\$978,882,228	\$19.41	\$819,106,978	2,395,582	\$1,006,452,853
1881.....	2,069,018,569	85.46	1,114,288,119	21.71	861,961,142	2,528,749	1,102,679,164
1882.....	1,918,312,924	81.91	1,174,280,419	22.37	906,797,081	2,710,354	1,066,901,720
1883.....	1,894,171,728	28.66	1,230,305,696	22.91	1,024,856,787	2,876,438	1,106,453,008
1884.....	1,880,528,924	26.20	1,248,925,969	22.65	1,078,294,955	3,015,151	987,649,056
1885.....	1,868,964,873	24.50	1,292,568,615	23.02	1,065,172,147	3,071,485	1,111,429,915
1886.....	1,775,063,014	22.34	1,052,700,525	21.82	1,141,530,578	3,158,650	1,166,716,413
1887.....	1,657,602,593	20.08	1,317,539,143	22.45	1,235,247,371	8,418,013	1,235,757,942
1888.....	1,692,868,985	17.72	1,372,170,570	22.88	1,364,196,550	8,688,291	1,531,265,617
1889.....	1,619,052,922	15.92	1,380,361,649	22.52	1,425,230,349	4,021,523	1,436,402,686
1890.....	65,087,091,000	1,038.57	1,552,140,205	14.22	1,429,251,270	22.82	1,524,844,506	4,258,898	1,485,095,856
1891.....	1,545,996,592	13.84	1,497,440,707	23.45	1,628,079,749	4,563,217	1,602,052,767
1892.....	1,588,464,145	12.98	1,601,347,187	24.60	1,712,769,028	4,781,605	1,764,456,177
1893.....	1,545,985,686	12.64	1,596,701,245	24.06	1,785,150,957	4,880,599	1,589,399,785
1894.....	1,682,253,637	13.30	1,600,808,708	24.56	1,747,961,280	4,777,687	1,695,489,346
1895.....	*77,000,000,000	1,117.01	1,676,120,983	13.08	1,601,968,473	23.24	1,810,597,023	4,875,519	1,720,550,241
1896.....	1,769,840,323	13.60	1,596,434,968	21.44	1,907,156,277	5,065,404	1,689,688,394
1897.....	1,817,672,668	13.78	1,640,209,519	22.91	1,989,376,065	5,201,182	1,916,630,252
1898.....	1,796,531,996	14.08	1,887,869,395	25.19	2,065,631,208	5,385,746	2,225,269,313
1899.....	1,991,927,307	15.55	1,904,071,981	25.62	2,280,968,954	5,687,818	2,380,610,361
1900.....	194,300,000,000	1,235.86	2,186,961,092	14.62	2,055,150,998	26.83	2,449,547,885	6,107,083	2,508,248,558
1901.....	2,143,326,894	13.44	2,176,387,277	28.02	2,587,094,580	6,358,723	3,044,600,000

* Belonging to the United States.

† True valuation of real and personal property.

GOVERNMENT RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES.
[From the Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department.]

Years.	RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURES.				
	Net ordinary.	Customs.	Internal revenue.	Net ordinary.	War.	Navy.	Pensions.	Interest on public debt.
1880.....	\$333,526,501	\$186,522,065	\$124,006,374	\$100,000,062	\$98,116,016	\$18,538,985	\$36,777,174	\$65,757,575
1881.....	360,782,293	198,150,676	135,264,386	177,142,808	40,466,461	15,686,672	50,050,280	85,508,741
1882.....	403,525,250	220,410,730	146,467,565	186,004,233	43,570,494	15,020,466	61,345,194	71,077,207
1883.....	398,287,582	214,706,497	144,720,360	206,448,006	48,611,983	15,238,437	66,012,274	69,100,181
1884.....	348,519,870	165,067,490	121,536,073	180,547,866	39,429,803	17,292,601	55,429,228	54,573,378
1885.....	323,660,706	181,471,969	112,495,726	108,840,679	42,670,578	16,021,080	56,102,367	51,888,256
1886.....	336,439,727	192,905,023	116,895,696	101,902,903	34,824,151	13,907,888	68,404,864	50,680,146
1887.....	371,408,778	217,286,803	118,821,391	220,100,003	38,522,486	15,411,157	75,029,102	47,741,577
1888.....	579,266,075	219,091,174	124,266,672	214,938,951	38,522,486	16,926,438	80,288,500	44,715,007
1889.....	387,050,050	223,832,742	130,381,514	240,095,131	44,435,271	21,378,809	87,624,779	41,001,464
1890.....	403,080,983	229,688,565	142,696,706	261,467,203	44,582,838	22,006,206	109,036,855	86,096,784
1891.....	392,612,447	219,522,205	145,046,240	317,825,549	48,720,065	26,118,806	124,415,951	87,547,185
1892.....	354,087,784	177,452,064	159,371,073	321,645,214	46,965,456	29,174,139	134,589,053	28,378,116
1893.....	385,319,629	203,355,017	161,027,624	356,213,562	49,641,773	30,196,084	159,357,558	27,264,392
1894.....	297,772,019	131,878,591	147,111,233	330,683,574	54,567,030	31,701,294	141,177,285	27,841,408
1895.....	313,380,075	152,136,617	143,411,672	325,217,298	51,891,579	27,807,706	141,395,229	20,978,090
1896.....	326,976,200	160,021,752	146,762,865	316,704,417	50,890,921	27,147,732	139,434,001	35,885,099
1897.....	347,721,705	176,564,127	146,683,574	327,983,049	48,050,238	34,593,546	141,053,165	37,791,110
1898.....	405,321,335	149,575,062	170,900,641	405,738,527	91,692,000	58,823,985	147,452,989	37,586,056
1899.....	515,060,620	208,128,482	278,487,162	565,175,255	229,841,254	63,942,104	139,394,320	39,396,925
1900.....	667,240,652	238,164,871	295,327,927	447,538,468	134,774,768	55,903,078	140,877,316	40,160,938
1901.....	587,675,338	238,555,456	307,180,664	477,624,374	144,615,607	60,506,978	139,729,022	37,242,979

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.

[From the Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department.]

Years.	Imports of merchandise.	Imports of merchandise per capita.	Exports of merchandise.	Exports of merchandise per capita.	IMPORTS OF—			EXPORTS OF—		
					Iron and steel and manufac- tures of	Iron and steel and manufac- tures of	Iron and steel and manufac- tures of	Agricultural products.	Agricultural products.	Manufac- tures.
1880	\$987,954,746	\$12.51	1,885,648,658	\$16.43	\$38,714,008	\$12,805,576	\$985,981,091			\$102,856,015
1881	642,664,628	12.68	902,377,346	17.23	60,604,477	16,006,767	780,394,943			114,288,219
1882	724,689,384	13.46	760,542,257	13.97	67,976,897	20,784,206	562,219,319			134,794,946
1883	723,180,914	13.05	823,949,402	14.98	58,465,246	22,836,528	619,259,449			134,238,088
1884	667,667,663	12.16	740,519,609	13.20	40,137,653	21,900,381	686,315,318			136,572,987
1885	577,327,329	10.32	742,189,755	12.94	33,610,088	16,592,155	580,172,966			147,187,527
1886	635,438,138	10.89	679,324,830	11.60	37,534,078	15,745,569	484,954,595			136,541,978
1887	692,319,763	11.65	716,168,211	11.98	49,203,164	15,956,502	623,078,798			136,795,106
1888	723,657,114	11.88	695,954,507	11.40	48,992,757	17,763,034	500,940,066			130,900,067
1889	745,131,632	12.10	742,401,975	11.92	42,377,798	21,156,077	582,141,490			136,675,507
1890	789,310,409	12.35	867,823,684	13.50	41,679,591	26,542,206	623,820,868			151,102,376
1891	844,916,196	13.38	884,480,810	13.66	53,544,372	23,900,614	642,751,944			166,527,315
1892	827,402,462	12.50	1,090,273,148	15.61	28,928,101	23,800,980	799,328,282			158,510,987
1893	806,400,022	12.73	847,665,194	12.98	34,687,374	30,106,462	615,382,966			168,023,118
1894	654,094,622	9.41	892,140,572	12.85	29,925,769	29,220,294	623,968,068			158,728,308
1895	791,080,965	10.61	807,338,165	11.51	23,048,515	32,000,949	558,210,026			188,595,743
1896	777,724,673	10.81	882,000,988	12.29	25,388,103	41,161,877	569,579,237			228,571,178
1897	704,740,412	11.02	1,050,963,556	14.42	16,094,557	57,497,872	633,471,139			277,255,391
1898	616,040,654	8.05	1,231,482,330	16.59	12,626,431	70,463,885	853,688,570			290,697,354
1899	697,144,439	9.22	1,227,623,302	16.20	12,100,440	98,716,081	784,776,142			359,592,146
1900	849,941,184	10.88	1,394,483,062	17.96	20,478,728	121,613,548	835,868,123			483,531,756
1901	823,172,105	10.58	1,487,764,991	18.81	17,374,789	117,319,420	943,811,020			412,155,086

FARM PRODUCTION.

[From the Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department.]

Years.	PRODUCTION OF—						FARM ANIMALS.				
	Wool.	Wheat.	Corn.	Cotton.	Sugar.	Total value.	Cattle.	Horses.	Sheep.	Mules.	Swine.
	Pounds.	Bushels.	Bushels.	Bales.	Tons.	Dollars.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.	Number.
1880.....	282,500,000	498,540,888	1,717,494,543	5,761,252	92,802	1,576,917,556	88,238,000	11,201,800	40,765,900	1,729,500	84,084,100
1881.....	240,000,000	388,280,080	1,194,916,000	6,605,750	127,967	1,721,795,252	88,907,863	11,423,628	43,569,899	1,720,781	86,247,683
1882.....	272,000,000	504,185,470	1,617,025,100	5,456,048	76,973	1,906,468,252	85,891,570	10,521,654	45,016,224	1,885,169	44,122,200
1883.....	290,000,000	421,086,180	1,551,066,805	6,949,756	142,207	2,388,215,768	41,171,782	10,838,110	49,287,291	1,871,079	43,270,086
1884.....	300,000,000	512,765,000	1,795,528,000	5,713,200	185,248	2,467,968,924	42,547,907	11,168,683	50,626,628	1,914,126	44,200,888
1885.....	308,000,000	857,112,000	1,986,176,000	5,706,165	100,876	2,456,428,883	48,771,295	11,564,572	50,360,243	1,972,569	45,142,657
1886.....	302,000,000	437,218,000	1,665,441,000	6,575,691	135,158	2,365,159,862	45,510,680	12,077,657	48,922,331	2,052,593	46,092,048
1887.....	285,000,000	456,526,000	1,456,161,000	6,505,087	85,394	2,400,566,988	46,038,688	12,466,744	44,759,314	2,117,141	44,612,886
1888.....	269,000,000	415,868,000	1,987,780,000	7,046,838	167,814	2,406,043,418	49,294,777	13,172,086	44,544,765	2,191,727	44,346,525
1889.....	265,000,000	490,560,000	2,112,492,000	6,988,290	153,909	2,407,050,058	50,381,142	13,668,294	42,590,079	2,257,574	50,301,592
1890.....	276,000,000	899,262,000	1,489,970,000	7,311,822	186,303	2,418,708,023	62,801,907	14,213,887	44,386,072	2,381,027	51,802,780
1891.....	285,000,000	611,780,000	2,060,154,000	8,652,507	221,951	2,329,787,770	52,895,279	14,056,750	43,421,186	2,286,582	50,623,106
1892.....	294,000,000	5,594,000	1,623,464,000	9,085,370	165,437	2,461,755,698	54,067,590	15,408,140	44,838,985	2,314,009	52,368,019
1893.....	308,153,000	896,131,725	1,619,496,131	6,700,965	206,816	2,488,506,681	62,378,288	16,206,802	47,273,553	2,381,128	49,064,807
1894.....	298,057,384	460,267,416	1,212,770,052	7,540,817	272,913	2,170,816,754	58,085,568	16,081,189	45,048,017	2,952,231	45,206,468
1895.....	309,748,000	467,102,947	2,151,138,580	9,901,251	325,621	1,819,446,906	50,868,845	15,868,318	42,294,004	2,888,108	44,165,716
1896.....	272,474,708	427,694,346	2,288,875,165	7,157,946	242,093	1,727,926,094	48,222,965	16,124,057	38,288,783	2,279,946	42,942,759
1897.....	239,153,251	530,140,168	1,902,967,893	8,757,964	287,578	1,655,414,612	46,450,185	14,364,667	36,818,043	2,215,654	40,800,276
1898.....	296,720,684	675,148,705	1,924,184,680	11,199,994	316,188	1,888,654,925	45,105,088	13,960,911	37,656,980	2,190,282	38,759,988
1899.....	272,101,380	547,903,449	2,078,143,683	11,274,840	246,954	1,907,010,407	48,994,940	13,666,907	39,114,453	2,184,218	38,651,681
1900.....	288,636,621	522,279,505	2,105,102,516	9,436,416	149,229	*2,981,054,115	*67,804,022	*18,266,140	*61,605,311	*9,866,724	*92,376,108
1901.....	302,502,328	748,460,218	1,522,519,801	10,888,422	188,605	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....

*Does not include value of animals in cities estimated at \$220,000,000.

RAILWAYS AND STEAMSHIPS.

[From Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department.]

Years.	RAILWAYS.				AMERICAN VESSELS.					
	Miles in operation.	Passengers carried.	Freight carried 1 mile.	Freight rate per ton per mile.	Passenger cars.	Freight cars.	Built.	Engaged in foreign trade.	Engaged in domestic trade.	Engaged in commerce of Great Lakes.
Number.	Tons.	Cents.	Number.	Number.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1880	98,292				12,788	544,185	157,409	1,952,810	2,715,224	605,102
1881	108,108				14,548	658,271	280,458	1,855,598	2,722,148	668,882
1882	114,677				16,187	708,202	292,299	1,292,594	2,878,689	711,289
1883	121,422			1.24	17,809	754,509	285,429	1,802,065	2,983,892	728,911
1884	125,345			1.12	17,093	854,216	225,514	1,804,221	2,967,008	788,069
1885	128,320			1.06	17,290	812,088	159,056	1,287,998	2,977,896	740,948
1886	136,838			1.04	19,252	862,239	95,458	1,111,179	3,019,957	762,560
1887	140,214			1.08	20,562	988,228	150,450	1,015,568	3,000,383	718,721
1888	156,114			.86	21,425	1,011,948	218,096	948,784	3,248,183	874,132
1889	161,276			.87	22,885	1,046,322	281,184	1,021,595	3,395,880	972,271
1890	166,654			.83	21,894	1,098,205	294,123	946,695	3,477,872	1,083,068
1891	170,720			.88	23,043	1,117,654	398,902	1,005,950	3,678,809	1,164,870
1892	173,170			.84	24,604	1,123,558	199,688	994,676	3,770,245	1,188,583
1893	177,316			.89	27,169	1,169,087	211,689	899,898	3,985,968	1,291,067
1894	179,415			.86	26,945	1,198,808	181,195	916,190	3,767,849	1,227,400
1895	181,065			.84	26,419	1,258,689	111,602	888,186	3,797,774	1,241,659
1896	182,789			.82	24,940	1,258,520	227,006	844,954	3,868,928	1,224,167
1897	184,591			.80	25,654	1,248,152	292,282	805,564	3,968,496	1,410,102
1898	186,810			.76	25,844	1,292,856	180,468	787,709	4,012,029	1,467,500
1899	190,818			.78	26,184	1,386,505	800,088	846,246	4,015,092	1,446,948
1900	194,321			.75	26,798	1,358,467	898,790	828,694	4,888,145	1,565,517
1901							488,459	886,129	4,695,069	1,708,294

IMPROVED FARM CONDITIONS.

Value of principal farm crops in the United States, 1866 to 1901.

[From Report of Department of Agriculture.]

Calendar year	Corn.	Wheat.	Oats.	Rye.	Barley.
1866.....	\$411,450,880	\$282,109,680	\$94,057,945	\$17,149,716	\$7,916,342
1867.....	437,769,763	308,337,146	123,902,556	23,280,584	18,027,746
1868.....	424,056,649	243,032,746	106,355,976	21,349,190	24,948,127
1869.....	522,550,509	199,024,906	109,521,734	17,341,861	20,298,164
1870.....	540,520,456	222,766,969	96,443,697	11,326,967	20,792,213
1871.....	430,355,910	264,075,851	92,591,350	10,927,623	20,264,015
1872.....	385,736,410	278,522,068	81,303,518	10,071,061	18,415,839
1873.....	411,961,151	300,660,533	93,474,161	10,638,258	27,794,229
1874.....	496,271,255	265,881,167	113,133,934	11,610,339	27,997,824
1875.....	484,674,804	261,396,326	113,441,491	11,804,223	27,367,522
1876.....	456,108,521	278,697,238	103,844,896	12,504,970	24,402,691
1877.....	467,335,230	385,089,444	115,546,194	12,201,759	21,629,130
1878.....	440,280,517	325,814,119	101,762,468	13,566,002	24,454,301
1879.....	580,486,217	497,030,142	120,533,294	15,507,431	23,714,444
1880.....	679,714,499	474,201,850	150,243,565	18,564,560	30,090,742
1881.....	759,482,170	456,880,427	193,198,970	19,327,415	33,862,513
1882.....	783,867,175	445,602,125	182,978,022	18,439,194	30,768,015
1883.....	658,051,485	383,649,272	187,040,264	16,300,503	29,420,423
1884.....	640,735,560	330,862,260	161,528,470	14,857,040	29,779,170
1885.....	635,674,630	275,320,390	179,631,860	12,564,820	32,867,696
1886.....	610,311,000	314,226,020	186,137,930	13,181,330	31,840,510
1887.....	646,106,700	310,612,960	200,689,790	11,283,140	29,464,300
1888.....	677,561,580	335,248,030	195,424,240	16,721,869	37,672,032
1889.....	597,918,829	342,491,707	171,781,008	12,009,752	32,614,271
1890.....	754,433,451	334,771,678	222,048,486	16,229,962	42,140,502
1891.....	896,453,228	513,472,711	232,312,267	24,589,217	45,470,942
1892.....	642,146,630	322,111,881	209,253,611	15,160,056	38,026,062
1893*.....	591,625,627	213,171,381	187,576,092	13,612,222	28,729,386
1894*.....	554,719,162	225,902,025	214,816,920	13,399,476	27,134,127
1895*.....	544,985,534	237,938,998	163,655,968	11,964,826	29,312,413
1896*.....	491,096,267	310,602,539	132,485,033	9,960,769	22,491,241
1897.....	501,072,952	428,547,121	147,174,719	12,230,647	25,142,139
1898.....	552,023,428	392,770,320	186,405,364	11,875,350	23,064,359
1899.....	629,210,110	319,545,259	198,167,975	12,214,118	29,594,254
1900.....	751,220,034	323,525,177	208,661,233	12,293,417	2,475,271
1901.....	921,555,768	467,350,156	293,658,777	16,909,742	49,705,163

*Democratic and low-tariff years

**WHAT PROTECTION HAS ACCOMPLISHED—THE RECORD
OF SUBSTANTIAL RESULTS IN MATERIAL CONDI-
TIONS.**

[From the American Economist.]

President McKinley in his message to the extra session of Congress March 15, 1897, referred first to the necessity of ample revenue, "not only for the ordinary expenses of the Government, but for the prompt payment of liberal pensions and the liquidation of the principal and interest of the public debt."

The President found the Treasury in a Democratic condition—that is, a most deplorable condition. The free-trade Wilson-Gorman law had created a yearly deficit and President Cleveland had sold bonds four different times amounting altogether to \$262,000,000. To show the revenue under the Wilson-Gorman law and the Dingley law the following table has been prepared:

Year ending June 30—	Customs receipts.	Total Receipts.
1895	\$152,158,617	\$313,390,075
1896	160,021,752	326,976,200
1897	176,554,127	347,721,905
Average	162,911,499	329,962,727
1898	149,576,082	405,321,335
1899	206,128,481	515,960,620
1900	233,164,871	567,220,851
1901	238,491,789	585,752,067
1902 *	252,000,000	550,000,000
Average	215,872,241	524,854,975

* Estimated from ten months.

The above average of customs duties under the Dingley law would be much larger but for the small amount of the year ending June 30, 1898, the first year of the law. It must be remembered that during the few months preceding its enactment enormous quantities of foreign goods were imported to anticipate the higher duties, but the average for the last three years is over \$240,000,000, or \$80,000,000 more than the average of the Wilson-Gorman law.

Although customs duties do not regulate our internal revenue, yet the latter is affected to a great measure by a wise tariff law. Protection makes prosperity. It gives employment and high wages, and consequently increases the purchasing power and consumption of the people, and the greater the consumption of certain luxuries the greater the internal revenue. Twice have the war taxes been repealed, \$70,000,000 or more altogether, and yet our revenue is

sufficient for the expenses of the Government, although expenses have been largely augmented by the results of the war and normal increases in every department. We have already paid the Spanish war debt, we are reducing our national debt every month, and we have refunded a large part of our interest-bearing debt into 2 per cents.

"Uncle Sam" is the only one on earth who can borrow money at 2 per cent and the bonds be at a premium at that.

In other words, the Dingley law as a revenue measure has proved to be the most successful of all our protective tariffs, and as compared or contrasted with the law of 1894 and previous free-trade laws it is simply a case of plus or minus—surplus or deficit.

Employment and Wages.—Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, estimated that over 3,000,000 men were out of employment during the free-trade period from 1893 to 1897. He also stated that the wages of those employed had been constantly forced down, adding this sound economic doctrine:

"It is agreed by all that the wage earners are the principal consumers of American products, and it necessarily follows that a reduction in wages involves a diminution in the power of consumption and consequently a proportionate decrease in production, and naturally, also, in the force of labor required for the production. A reduction of wages, therefore, results in an increase in the army of the unemployed."

In 1899 Mr. Gompers, in his annual report, referred to the revival of industry as a matter for general congratulation, and to-day it is claimed that no man in the country who is worthy and willing to work need be out of employment.

This is the lesson of the two tariffs—the difference between free-trade and protection. What does it mean to have 3,000,000 men idle? At \$2 per day it means a loss of \$1,800,000,000 a year in wages, or \$9,000,000,000 in five years. That is more than all the gold and silver in the world. It means a loss of \$3,000 each to 3,000,000 families, and \$3,000 will pay for a lot of food, a lot of clothes, a lot of education, a lot of comfort.

But this is not the only charge to make against the Wilson-Gorman free-trade law. For those who had work there were short hours, short weeks, and short months, even at reduced wages. Our farmers lost \$4,500,000,000 from 1893 to 1897, while the depreciation of all values, the loss of dividends and general incomes cannot be estimated, all due to the fact that we were employing others to do much of our work, or it was not being done at all.

Happily, however, we can turn from those awful years to the past five years under the Dingley law. With employment for all and with increased wages we find our home market demanding all we

can produce. Not for a month, not for a year, but year after year, with no sign of abatement. Labor in the United States was never so well off as it is to-day, never so fully employed, never so well paid. Not even the most pessimistic free-trader will deny that. And this condition of our masses is the foundation, the framework, and the whole structure of prosperity. It is this great purchasing power of our wage-earners that is to-day keeping our mills busy, our railroads running to their very highest capacity, our farmers rewarded to the limit of their industry, and our great army of clerical, professional, and mercantile workers fully occupied with liberal recompense. Every person who toils with hand or head belongs to our great army of labor, and each and every one, no matter in what line of work engaged, is benefited by the tariff law now in operation, and will be so long as that law is undisturbed.

Not only are we all employed at high wages, but all over the country hours of labor have been shortened, so that the working-man has an extra hour or two to spend with his children, to work in the garden, to read and enjoy the delights of life and home.

From every view point, then, the laborer is better off under Dingleyism than under free-trade. Tables of figures to show this are useless, for the fact is known and accepted by all. Not alone in the factory, but on the farm is labor in demand and well rewarded. The dollar-a-day average of a few years ago has given place to a \$2-a-day rate, while thousands are receiving \$3, \$4, and even \$5 a day for manual labor and splendid salaries for clerical and professional work. This will continue so long as we continue to do our own work, and that is insured by the Dingley law, which protects American labor and industry.

Our Postal Revenues.—Nowhere is the effect of protection or free-trade—prosperity or adversity—so apparent as in our postal revenues. It would seem as if no one could be so poor as to have to forego the 2-cent stamp, that no matter how poor business got the 1-cent circular could still be sent out. Consequently our postal revenue should always show a constant increase to keep pace with population. Following is a table showing our total postal revenues for the past fourteen fiscal years:

1889.....	\$56,175,611	1896.....	\$82,499,208
1890.....	60,882,097	1897.....	82,665,463
1891.....	65,931,786	1898.....	89,012,619
1892.....	70,930,476	1899.....	95,021,384
1893.....	75,896,933	1900.....	102,354,579
1894.....	75,080,479	1901.....	111,631,193
1895.....	76,983,128	1902*.....	122,680,000

* Estimated from ten months.

It will be seen that from 1889 to 1893 there is a constant increase of about \$5,000,000 a year. In 1894 there is an actual decrease, and still no material increase the year following. In 1896 there is a substantial increase, but a standing still the year following, so that the average annual increase for the four years from 1893 to 1897 is only \$1,689,633, which, considering the increase in population, is a falling off.

Now look at the increase since the passage of the Dingley law—over \$40,000,000, or an average of \$8,000,000 a year—and this largely made up from the sale of 1 and 2 cent stamps. A little thing is a postage stamp compared with a locomotive, and yet it has its place in our social and commercial life. We are increasing our postal expenditures largely every year, and yet our revenue is increasing at a still greater rate, so that we may soon look for a self-supporting department and then for 1-cent postage. Rural free delivery is being extended to every part of the country, giving the farmer at his very door his daily mail, the daily paper, the daily weather and crop reports, and making him more intelligent, more expert, and more prosperous. And so protection carries its benefits and blessings in the letter envelope and newspaper wrapper as well as on the rails and water ways.

The Telegraph and Telephone.—Time was when the telegraph message may have been considered a luxury, but for many years it has been a necessity, and is as much an indication of prosperity or adversity as the weather vane is an indication of the direction of the wind. The large business house must resort to the telegraph many times a day, while the individual knows the value of saving a few hours, sometimes a few minutes, in important transactions.

The following table shows the receipts of the Western Union Telegraph Company for the past fourteen fiscal years:

1889.....	\$20,783,194	1896.....	\$22,612,736
1890.....	22,387,029	1897.....	22,638,859
1891.....	23,034,327	1898.....	23,915,733
1892.....	23,706,405	1899.....	23,954,312
1893.....	24,978,443	1900.....	24,758,570
1894.....	21,852,655	1901.....	26,354,151
1895.....	22,218,019	1902*	27,850,000

* Estimated.

It will be seen that up to 1893 there was a constant increase. From 1893 to 1897 there was a decrease, while from 1897 there has been not only a recovery of the business lost during the free-trade Wilson-Gorman tariff, but a very substantial increase. This great increase during the operation of the Dingley tariff, it must be remembered, has been gained in spite of an enormous

advance in telephone business. Besides the constantly increasing business of the Western Union Company there has been a proportionate increase in the business of the Postal Telegraph Company and over railroad and private wires.

The increase in telephone business can be seen from the following figures of subscribers and employes since 1894:

Calendar year.	Subscribers.	Employees.
1894	287,186	10,421
1895	249,482	11,004
1896	281,895	11,980
1897	325,244	14,425
Average annual increase	29,858	1,335
1898	354,230	16,682
1899	465,180	19,668
1900	632,946	25,741
1901	800,880	32,837
Average annual increase	138,888	5,385

Nearly five times the average annual increase under the protective Dingley tariff as under the free-trade Wilson-Gorman tariff. It will be interesting in this connection to compare the annual number of telephone messages in different countries. They were as follows, according to the latest statistics:

Austria-Hungary, 1899	116,724,879
Russia, 1898	103,426,088
Germany, 1899	540,324,386
France, 1898	141,226,883
Great Britain, 1900	639,476,448
United States, 1901	2,300,000,000

The United States does more telephoning than all the rest of the world combined at a rate of from 5 to 10 cents a message. All this has been made possible by the great prosperity brought to the country by the Dingley tariff.

Railroad Business.—Free-traders insist on calling our great railroad business one of our non-protected industries, and yet there is no single industry in the country so dependent on the tariff for profitable business. This is clearly seen in the record during the last five years under the Dingley law as compared with the figures under the free-trade Wilson-Gorman law. Then a large proportion of the roads of the country were in the hands of receivers; now only about 1 per cent. of the roads of the country are in receivers' hands. Then the railroad business of the country was, to say the least, in pretty bad shape; now the business is limited only by facilities to handle the freight offered.

We have just passed the 200,000 mark in railroad mileage. This

means total mileage of railroad systems. Of total track we have about 280,000 miles. This represents a capital of \$12,000,000,000, with annual earnings of \$1,500,000,000. A total of 600,000,000 passengers are carried annually and over 1,100,000,000 tons of freight. More than 1,000,000 men are employed, with annual wages exceeding \$600,000,000. The following table will show the comparison of certain statistics during the three years of the free-trade Wilson-Gorman law and the first three years of the Dingley law:

Free-Trade Tariff Period.

Years.	Freight carried, tons.	Miles built.	Dividends pa.d.	Gross receipts.	Wages paid.	Number of employ- ees.	Freight rate per ton mile.
1895.....	756,799,388	1,650	\$81,685,774	\$1,082,395,437	\$445,506,281	785,084	<i>Cent.</i> .839
1896.....	778,863,716	1,704	81,528,154	1,125,632,025	468,824,531	826,620	.806
1897.....	788,385,448	1,818	88,680,040	1,132,866,826	465,601,581	823,476	.798
Average.	772,684,682	1,724	82,297,969	1,116,964,696	459,978,124	811,710	.814

Protective Tariff Period.

1898.....	912,973,858	2,215	\$94,937,526	\$1,249,358,724	\$495,055,618	874,558	.758
1899.....	975,789,941	3,966	109,082,252	1,386,096,379	522,967,896	928,924	.724
1900.....	1,071,431,919	8,503	140,343,658	1,501,695,378	577,264,341	1,017,658	.729
1901.....	.....	5,057	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Average.	986,781,904	3,685	114,771,144	1,362,450,227	581,762,785	940,378	.735

But this contrast, marked as it is, by no means shows the difference between the effect of free-trade and protection upon our railroad affairs. The statistics for 1901 have not yet been published, but it is known they are much in advance of those of 1900, while those of 1902 will show a still greater advance. There is 50 per cent. more railroad business being done now each year under the Dingley law than the average annual business done under the Wilson-Gorman law. There is also an increase of 50 per cent. in total amount of wages now paid. The amount of miles built annually has trebled and the increase in dividends is most satisfactory. But what of the passenger and shipper? The passenger is paying less and the freight rate has fallen 13 per cent.

That the result is due in large measure to protection is shown by the fact that last year, while our corn crop and potato and apple crop were so small, relatively, but little of those staples were shipped, still the railroad business of the country was the greatest in our history. Coal was being carried to the busy mills, man-

ufactures were being carried to the consumers, and luxuries to the prosperous people from Maine to California, from the Lakes to the Gulf. And this immense business was done, too, in the face of the enormous expansion of trolley lines in every part of the Union, deriving a large share of passenger traffic and small freight business.

Failures.—No matter how healthful the community, there will always be illness and death, but the death rate will vary according to conditions. There will always be business troubles and suspensions and failures, but their number will vary according to tariff conditions. A study of the failures for the past ten years carries with it a most significant lesson. The following table shows the number of failures and amount of liabilities for the calendar years 1892-1901, inclusive, as reported by R. G. Dun & Co.:

Year.	Number of failures.	Amount of liabilities.
1892	10,344	\$114,044,167
1893	15,242	346,779,889
1894	13,885	172,992,856
1895	13,197	173,196,080
1896	15,088	226,096,884
1897	13,351	154,332,171
1898	12,186	130,662,399
1899	9,337	90,679,889
1900	10,774	133,495,673
1901	11,002	113,092,376

It will be seen that both the number and amount of liabilities in 1892 were normal, but coming free-trade was assured by the elections of that year, and the result in the business world is shown by the increased number of failures in 1893 and the liabilities of over three times the amount of the preceding year. In 1894 and 1895 they fell off somewhat, but were still abnormally high, and in 1896 the figures were again enormous. Those four years were anxious ones for every business concern, and fortunate indeed was the individual or concern that went through without suspension or failure.

But with the enactment of the Dingley law in July, 1897, came hope and confidence, and the result is seen in the lesser number of failures and the decreased amount of liabilities. The year 1898 was still better, and 1899 was a record breaker for low failures and liabilities, as 1893 had been for high figures. The years 1900 and 1901 remained at normal number and amount, and in this connection it must be remembered that there were many thousand more concerns doing business these later years as compared with the former years, so that the comparison is the more remarkable. A large proportion of the railroads of the country were in the hands

of receivers in 1895 and 1896. Not 1 per cent. is in receivers' hands to-day. During the free-trade period the amount of liabilities in failures exceeded \$1,000,000,000. During the four full years under the Dingley law the amount has been less than half that sum with an immense increase in business concerns and capital employed. This is what protection has accomplished in this most unfortunate part of business enterprise.

While the nation that has dared to be great, that has had the will and the power to change the destiny of the ages, in the end must die, yet no less surely the nation that has played the part of the weakling must also die; and, whereas the nation that has done nothing leaves nothing behind it, the nation that has done a great work really continues, though in changed form, forevermore.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

It is because we believe with all our heart and soul in the greatness of this country, because we feel the thrill of hardy life in our veins, and are confident that to us is given the privilege of playing a leading part in the century that has just opened, that we hail with eager delight the opportunity to do whatever task Providence may allot us.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

It is not only highly desirable, but necessary, that there should be legislation which shall carefully shield the interests of wage-workers, and which shall discriminate in favor of the honest and humane employer by removing the disadvantage under which he stands when compared with unscrupulous competitors who have no conscience, and will do right only under fear of punishment.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

Nor can legislation stop only with what are termed labor questions. The vast individual and corporate fortunes, the vast combinations of capital, which have marked the development of our industrial system, create new conditions and necessitate a change from the old attitude of the State and nation toward property.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

Corporations engaged in interstate commerce should be regulated if they are found to exercise a license working to the public injury. It should be as much the aim of those who seek for social betterment to rid the business world of crimes of cunning as to rid the entire body politic of crimes of violence.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

LABOR.

LABOR LEGISLATION IN REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC STATES.

There is no better way of judging the merits of a political party than by the laws which are passed by the legislators who are elected to office from its ranks. With regard to legislation for the protection of the workers much remains to be done before they receive their full measure of protection and justice, but as can be shown by the statistics of the different States, nearly all protective labor legislation in the United States was first enacted by Republican States, and then adopted by way of imitation by the Democratic States. At the present time, that is, up to the close of 1901, the proportion of Republican States having protective labor legislation is much greater than that of Democratic States. This is plainly shown in the following two tables:

Not only must our labor be protected by the tariff, but it should also be protected so far as it is possible from the presence in this country of any laborers brought over by contract, or of those who, coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag them to a lower level. I regard it as necessary, with this end in view, to reenact immediately the law excluding Chinese laborers and to strengthen it wherever necessary in order to make its enforcement entirely effective.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

The Government should provide in its contracts that all work should be done under "fair" conditions, and in addition to setting a high standard should uphold it by proper inspection, extending, if necessary, to the subcontractors. The Government should forbid all night work for women and children, as well as excessive overtime.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

American wage-workers work with their heads as well as their hands. Moreover, they take a keen pride in what they are doing; so that, independent of the reward, they wish to turn out a perfect job. This is the great secret of our success in competition with the labor of foreign countries.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN TEXT-BOOK.

Labor Legislation in Republican States.

[The stars show the States which have enacted the legislation indicated on the left of the table.]

State laws in force January 1, 1902.	California.	Connecticut.	Delaware.	Illinois.	Indiana.	Iowa.	Kansas.	Maine.	Massachusetts.	Michigan.	Minnesota.	Nebraska.	New Hampshire.	New Jersey.	New York.	North Dakota.	Ohio.	Oregon.	Pennsylvania.	Rhode Island.	South Dakota.	Utah.	Vermont.	Washington.	West Virginia.	Wisconsin.	Wyoming.	Total States.	Per cent of total Republican States.
Creating labor bureaus.....	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	..	*	..	*	*	*	*	21	78
Creating factory inspection services....	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	..	*	..	*	*	*	*	20	74
Establishing an eight-hour day.....	*	*	..	*	*	*	..	*	*	*	..	*	..	*	*	..	*	..	*	*	*	..	16	59
Prohibiting employment of children under 12 years of age in factories.....	*	*	..	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	..	*	..	*	*	*	*	18	67
Prohibiting employment of children under 12 years of age in mines.....	*	*	*	*	..	*	..	*	*	*	*	*	..	*	*	16	59
Regulating woman labor.....	..	*	*	*	*	..	*	..	*	..	*	*	*	*	*	..	*	*	*	*	*	..	23	85
Requiring seats for females in shops....	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	..	*	..	*	*	18	67
Regulating sweat-shops.....	..	*	..	*	*	*	*	*	..	*	..	*	*	10	37	
Prohibiting the truck system.....	*	*	*	*	*	..	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	..	*	..	*	*	*	*	..	13	48
Regulating sale of convict-made goods	*	*	*	*	*	*	..	*	*	11	41	

Labor legislation in the Democratic States.

[The stars show the States which have enacted the legislation indicated on the left of the table.]

State laws in force January 1, 1902.	Alabama.	Arkansas.	Colorado.	Florida.	Georgia.	Idaho.	Kentucky.	Louisiana.	Maryland.	Mississippi.	Missouri.	Montana.	Nevada.	North Carolina.	South Carolina.	Tennessee.	Texas.	Virginia.	Total States.	Per cent of total Democratic States.
Creating labor bureaus.....						*	*	*	*		*	*		*				*	10	56
Creating factory inspection services.....											*	*				*			3	17
Establishing an eight-hour day.....						*					*					*			5	28
Prohibiting employment of children under 12 years of age in factories.....			*				*	*	*		*					*			6	33
Prohibiting employment of children under 12 years of age in mines.....	*	*	*			*						*				*			4	23
Regulating woman labor.....	*	*	*						*		*					*		*	7	39
Requiring seats for females in shops.....	*	*	*	*				*	*		*				*				8	44
Regulating sweat-shops.....			*	*	*			*	*		*				*				2	11
Prohibiting the truck system.....							*	*	(a)		*			*	*	*		*	8	44
Regulating sale of convict-made goods.....			*					*			*		*	*					3	17

(a) Law declared unconstitutional.

The first table shows all the States which were Republican at the time of the last State elections, and the second table all those which were Democratic. The stars (*) show the States which have enacted the legislation indicated on the left of the tables. An examination of these tables presents an interesting lesson in practical politics. We shall take up in rotation each of the more important subjects of labor legislation, and see which States have done the most for the workingman.

Labor Bureaus.—There are few agencies which have done more toward giving a clear insight into the problems of labor and capital, that have brought employer and employee nearer together, that have furnished the laboring people with facts for arguments in favor of protective legislation, than bureaus of labor and labor statistics. The above tables show that at present there are 31 State labor bureaus in the United States. Of these, 21 are in Republican States and 10 are in Democratic States. Reducing these figures to a proportionate basis, we find that 21 out of 27 Republican States, or 78 per cent, have labor bureaus; 10 out of 18 Democratic States, or 56 per cent, have labor bureaus.

Factory Inspection Service.—It is well known to all working people that protective labor laws are practically a dead letter in any State unless there is a factory inspection service organized for the purpose of searching out and bringing to justice persons who violate such laws. It is easy enough to enact protective legislation, but it is another thing to enforce it. If a State therefore enacts such laws and fails to organize a service for their enforcement, it is betraying those whom it pretends to favor. Let us again observe the tables. We find that 20 out of 27 Republican States, or 74 per cent, have established factory inspection services. We also find that 3 out of 18 Democratic States, or 17 per cent, have factory inspection services. In examining the other subjects of labor legislation which follow we must not lose sight of the fact that only 3 of the Democratic States have factory inspection services organized for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the labor laws which will be under consideration.

Eight-hour Law.—For many years labor organizations have been endeavoring to secure legislation prohibiting labor on Government works or public contracts for over eight hours per day. They have succeeded thus far in securing such legislation in 21 of the 45 States of the Union. Of these 21 States 16 are Republican and 5 are Democratic. In other words, of the 27 Republican States, 59 per cent have enacted the eight-hour law, and of the 18 Democratic States, only 5, or 28 per cent, have yielded to the demands of the labor organization in this regard.

Child Labor in Factories.—Ever since the introduction of the factory system, over a century ago, the greatest sufferers from the greed of inconsiderate and cruel employers have been the helpless children, who often at a tender age are placed in factories and are ruined physically, morally, and mentally by their work, their surroundings, and their loss of opportunity for education. It is a principle recognized in all civilized countries that children under 12 years of age should not be employed in factories, and in nearly all European countries laws have been passed placing a limit of 12 or 14 years upon such child labor. In our country 24 out of the 45 States prohibit the employment of children under 12 years of age from working in factories. Of these 24 States 18 are Republican and 6 are Democratic! In other words, two-thirds of all the Republican States and only one-third of the Democratic States have laws prohibiting children under 12 years of age from working in factories.

Child Labor in Mines.—Twenty-two States prohibit the employment of children under 12 years of age in mines. Of these, 16 are Republican and 6 are Democratic States.

Woman Labor.—Next to the children the greatest victims of abuse by greedy employers when unrestrained by law are women. Investigations have shown that their condition is sometimes pitiful where employers are given free scope in their employment. Their protection, in the interests of humanity and morals, has also been the subject of legislation in nearly all civilized countries. In the United States 30 States have legislated upon this subject. Of these 30 States, 23 are Republican and 7 are Democratic! Reducing these figures to a proportionate basis we find that 85 per cent of the Republican States and only 39 per cent of the Democratic States have laws regulating woman labor.

Seats for Females in Shops.—Legislation on this subject needs no comment. Any man who has a daughter or sister employed in a shop or store, and every physician, knows what a hardship it is to a woman to be compelled to stand all day at a bench or behind a counter. Fortunately in 26 States legislation has been enacted requiring employers to provide seats for females. Of these 26 States, 18 are Republicans and 8 are Democratic.

Sweatshop Legislation.—There is no greater menace to the health of the working people, and nothing which tends more to lower and degrade human beings, than to crowd them together in small, filthy workshops, where they are often compelled to work, eat, and sleep without regard to health or morals, and where the hours of labor are often so long that the victims, who are usually foreigners unacquainted with our language, are shut out from all opportunities for education or betterment of any kind. The scenes

observed in these shops by official investigators have been revolting beyond description. Long ago efforts have been made to regulate these so-called "sweatshops," and 12 States have enacted laws looking to this end. Of these 12 States 10 are Republican and 2 are Democratic. Nothing more need be said on this point.

Truck System.—The only important labor legislation in which the proportion of Democratic States approaches that of the Republican is in the prohibition of the truck system. This legislation prohibits employers from paying their employees in scrip or orders on their company stores, and which are not redeemable in cash. At present 21 States have such laws in force, of which 13 are Republican and 8 are Democratic, or 48 per cent of all the Republican and 44 per cent of all the Democratic States.

Convict-Made Goods.—The competition of convict-made goods with the products of honest labor is another subject upon which the working people have long sought to secure protective legislation. In 14 States the sale of convict-made goods is regulated by law. Of these 11 are Republican and 3 are Democratic.

This is conclusive evidence that it is not the Democratic party which is the "workingman's friend." Acts speak louder than words.

LABOR LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Who Enacted Them?—The great revolution, by which labor was exalted and the country freed from the curse of slavery, was accomplished by the Republican party against the fiercest opposition possible by the combined forces of the Democrats and their allies.

The Cooley Trade Prohibited.—This law was passed February 19, 1862; amended February 9, 1869; and further amended March 3, 1875. President Grant, in his message of December 7, 1874, laid before Congress a recommendation for the enforcement of the law. The legislation on these several acts was accomplished by the Republicans in 1862, in the Thirty-seventh Congress, and in 1869, in the Fortieth Congress.

Peonage Abolished.—This act was passed in the Thirty-ninth Congress, when both Houses were Republican by a large majority, March 2, 1867.

Inspection of Steam Vessels.—Passed during the Fortieth Congress, when the Republicans were in power in both Houses.

Protection of Seamen.—Passed during the Forty-second Congress, when both Houses were under control of the Republicans. It was amended during the Forty-third Congress, when the Republicans were in control of both Houses.

Involuntary Servitude of Foreigners Abrogated.—Passed during the Forty-third Congress, when both Houses were under the control of the Republicans.

Alien Contract Labor.—Contract-labor law passed the House March 9, 1886. All the votes against the bill were Democratic.

Incorporation of National Trades Unions.—Passed the Senate June 9, 1886, without division. Passed the House June 11, 1886, without division.

Payment of Per Diem Employees for Holidays.—Passed without division in the Forty-ninth Congress, second session.

Labor of United States Convicts—Contract System Prohibited.—Passed the House March 9, 1886. Passed the Senate February 28, 1887. All the votes against the bill were Democratic.

Boards of Arbitration.—Passed the House on April 3, 1886, with thirty votes against the bill, all being Democratic.

Hours of Labor, Letter-Carriers.—Law limiting letter-carriers to eight hours a day passed in the Senate without division.

Department of Labor.—Passed the House April 19, 1888. Passed the Senate May 23, 1888. All votes cast against the bill were Democratic.

Alien Contract Labor.—Passed the House during the Fifty-first Congress without division August 30, 1890. Passed the Senate with verbal amendments September 27, 1890.

LABOR CONDITIONS UNDER REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS.

The only way in which a fair idea may be obtained of the actual conditions of labor at any time is by careful, impartial investigation. This fact was recognized when the United States Government and the governments of most of the different States of the Union and of the countries of Europe established bureaus of labor statistics. Before such bureaus were established it was practically impossible to secure information regarding labor conditions that was not open to criticism on account of the partisanship or personal bias of the persons presenting the same. Now, however, careful scientific investigations have replaced the unreliable and superficial work of irresponsible investigators.

During recent years a number of State labor bureaus, particularly those in States having considerable manufacturing interests, have published from year to year information showing, among other things, the number of persons employed in leading industries, the total and average wages paid employees, the number of days establishments were in operation during the year, the value of products,

etc. Such statistics enable one to see from year to year the degree of prosperity or depression in industry, and their effects upon labor, etc.

In the present statistical discussion of labor conditions *nothing but official figures have been used*, figures which may easily be compared for verification with the original Government reports. These figures show that during the administrations of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt there were more persons employed in industrial establishments, more money was paid in wages to employees, the average yearly earnings of wage workers were higher, and establishments were in operation a greater number of days per year than at any time during Democratic rule. The statistics from which these conclusions are drawn are shown and discussed separately for each State for which comparative data could be obtained.

ILLINOIS LABOR REPORTS.

In the biennial reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Illinois the industrial conditions are shown for recent years in 627 identical establishments, representing 38 industries. No information for years later than 1899 has yet been published. Tables are shown comparing conditions in the years 1895, 1897, and 1899.

From the table showing the average number of employees it is seen that these 627 establishments employed 22,466 persons in 1895; in 1897 the number had increased to 23,567, a gain of 1,101 employees or 4.90 per cent. In 1899, 29,166 persons were employed, a gain of 5,599 or 23.76 per cent over 1897, and a gain of 6,700 persons or 29.82 per cent over 1895.

Or, presenting it in another way, for every 100 persons furnished employment by these establishments in 1895, 130 persons are now employed.

The table presenting total wages shows \$9,800,033 paid in wages by the 627 establishments in 1895. In 1897 this amount had increased \$535,886 or 5.47 per cent. The year 1899 shows an increase of \$3,540,340 or 34.25 per cent over 1897, and an increase over 1895 of \$4,076,226 or 41.59 per cent. That is, for every \$100 paid for labor in these establishments in 1897, the employees in 1899 received \$141.59.

In the 627 establishments the average yearly earnings in 1895 were \$436.22, in 1897 \$438.58, an increase of \$2.36 or 0.54 per cent. In 1899 the earnings increased \$37.19 or 8.48 per cent over 1897, and \$39.55 or 9.07 per cent over 1895.

The average number of days in operation in 1897 increased 2.76 days or 1.08 per cent over 1895. In 1899 they were in operation 2.70 days or 1.04 per cent more than in 1897, and 5.46 days or 2.13 per cent more than in 1895.

These tables show that for every 100 persons employed in 1895 the same establishments in 1899 employed 130 persons. That for every \$100 paid in wages in 1895, \$141.59 were paid in 1899. That while in 1895 22,466 persons were furnished employment at an average yearly earning of \$436.22 these same establishments in 1899 furnished employment to 29,166 persons at an average yearly earning of \$475.77; that is, the employers paid an average of \$39.55 more to all the employees who could be furnished work in 1895, and furthermore employed 6,700 more persons at \$475.77 each. These tables also show that while in 1895 but 22,466 persons could be furnished work for 255.90 days, in 1899 29,166 persons were furnished employment for 261.36 days.

The tables follow:

Six hundred and twenty-seven identical establishments, representing 38 industries.
[Compiled from the biennial reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Illinois.]

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED.

Year.	Average number of persons employed.	Increase as compared with previous year shown.		Increase as compared with the year 1895.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
1895.....	22,466				
1897.....	23,587	1,101	4.90	1,101	4.90
1899.....	29,166	6,599	28.76	6,700	29.82

INCREASE IN TOTAL WAGES PAID.

Year.	Total wages paid.	Increase as compared with previous year shown.		Increase as compared with the year 1895.	
		Amount.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.
1895.....	\$9,800,083				
1897.....	10,385,919	\$585,886	5.47	\$585,886	41.59
1899.....	13,376,259	3,540,340	34.25	4,076,226	54.7

INCREASE IN AVERAGE YEARLY EARNINGS.

Year.	Average yearly earnings.	Increase as compared with previous year shown.		Increase as compared with the year 1895.	
		Amount.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.
1895.....	436.22				
1897.....	438.58	\$2.36	0.54	\$2.36	0.54
1899.....	475.77	37.19	8.48	39.55	9.07

INCREASE IN AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS IN OPERATION.

Year.	Average number of days in operation.	Increase as compared with previous year shown.		Increase as compared with the year 1896.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
1895.....	255.90	.....	.....	.....	.....
1897.....	258.68	2.78	1.08	2.78	1.08
1899.....	261.88	2.70	1.04	5.46	2.18

IOWA LABOR REPORTS.

The biennial reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Iowa present for recent years the average number of employees and total wages paid in a large number of establishments.

In 1896 1,752 establishments reported 49,273 employees and a total of \$17,369,622 paid in wages. In 1897 reports were made by but 1,311 establishments, but these establishments paid \$287,102 more in wages than did the 1,752 in 1896. In 1900 reports were secured from but 1,285 establishments, but these paid \$3,776,339 more in wages than did the 1,752 establishments in 1896.

The average number of persons furnished employment in each establishment was 28.1 in 1896 and increased 8.8 persons or 31.32 per cent in 1897. In 1898 there was a decrease of 2.8 or 7.59 per cent when compared with 1897, but an increase of 6 or 21.35 per cent when compared with 1896. In 1899 there was an increase over 1896 of 3.9 or 11.44 per cent and an increase of 9.9 or 35.23 per cent over 1896. In 1900 an increase of 1.8 or 4.74 per cent over 1899 and an increase of 11.7 or 41.64 per cent over 1896.

Or, instead of each establishment furnishing employment to 28.1 persons, as in 1896, in 1900 each establishment furnished employment to 39.8 persons.

In these establishments the average yearly earnings were \$352.52 in 1896. In 1897 they increased \$12.63 or 3.58 per cent. In 1898 they decreased \$11.11 or 3.04 per cent when compared with 1897, but increased \$1.52 or 0.43 over 1896. In 1899 they increased \$38.35 or 10.83 per cent over the previous year and \$39.87 or 11.31 per cent over 1896. In 1900 they increased \$20.81 or 5.30 per cent over 1899 and \$60.68 or 17.21 per cent over 1896.

Summarizing these tables it is seen that on an average each establishment furnished employment to 11.7 or 41.64 per cent more persons in 1900 than in 1896, that the average yearly earning of each person furnished employment was \$60.68, or 17.21 per cent greater than in 1896.

The tables follow:

[Compiled from the biennial reports of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of Iowa.]

Year.	Establishments reporting.	Average number of employees	Total wages paid.
1896.....	1,752	49,278	\$17,880,622
1897.....	1,811	48,855	17,856,724
1898.....	1,825	55,429	19,828,892
1899.....	1,428	54,251	21,287,731
1900.....	1,285	51,175	21,145,861

INCREASE IN AVERAGE NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN EACH ESTABLISHMENT.

Year.	Average number of employees per establishment.	Increase as compared with previous year shown.		Increase as compared with the year 1896.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
1896	28.1				
1897	36.9	8.8	31.32	8.8	31.32
1898	34.1	a2.8	a7.59	6.0	21.35
1899	38.0	3.9	11.44	9.9	35.23
1900	39.8	1.8	4.74	11.7	41.64

a Decrease.

INCREASE IN AVERAGE YEARLY EARNINGS.

Year.	Average yearly earnings.	Increase as compared with previous year shown.		Increase as compared with the year 1896.	
		Amount.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.
1896	\$352.52				
1897	365.15	\$12.63	3.58	\$12.63	3.58
1898	354.04	a11.11	a3.04	1.52	0.43
1899	392.30	38.35	10.83	39.87	11.31
1900	413.20	20.81	5.30	60.68	17.21

a Decrease.

MASSACHUSETTS LABOR REPORTS.

The annual statistics of manufactures in Massachusetts, published by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, present reports from a large number of manufacturing establishments in the State, and each year compare conditions with the previous year.

On the basis of the 4,695 establishments reporting, 1897 compared with 1896, shows a gain of 2.72 per cent in the number of employees and 1.53 per cent in wages paid.

On the basis of the 4,701 establishments reporting, 1898 compared with 1897, shows a gain of 1.80 per cent in the number of employees and 1.61 per cent in wages paid.

On the basis of the 4,740 establishments reporting, 1899 compared with 1898, shows a gain of 9.58 per cent in the number of employees and 11.61 per cent in wages paid.

On the basis of the 4,645 establishments reporting, 1900 compared with 1899, shows a gain of 3.77 per cent in the number of employees and 6.67 per cent in wages paid.

The table follows:

Increase in number of employees and wages paid.

[Compiled from the "Annual Statistics of Manufactures in Massachusetts," published by the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor.]

Years compared.	Number of establishments reporting.	Per cent of increase each year as compared with the previous year.	
		Number of employees.	Wages paid.
1897 with 1896	4,695	2.72	1.58
1898 with 1897	4,701	1.80	1.61
1899 with 1898	4,740	9.58	11.61
1900 with 1899	4,645	3.77	6.67

NEW YORK LABOR REPORTS.

The Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of New York shows for recent years the number of employees as reported by about 5,000 establishments.

No report is made as to total wages paid and average yearly earnings in these establishments.

In 1896 these 5,000 establishments furnished employment to 283,934 persons; in 1897 the number increased 14,996 or 5.28 per cent. In 1898 the increase was 36,834 or 12.32 per cent over 1897, and 51,830 or 18.25 per cent over 1896. In 1899 the increase was 71,471 or 21.29 per cent over 1898, and 123,301 or 43.43 per cent over 1896.

Or, for every 100 persons to which these establishments could furnish employment in 1896, 143 persons are now employed.

The table follows:

Number of employees as reported by about 5,000 establishments.

[Compiled from the Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the State of New York for the year 1900.]

Year.	Total employees.	Increase as compared with previous year.		Increase as compared with the year 1896.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
1896	283,934				
1897	298,930	14,996	5.28	14,996	5.28
1898	335,764	36,834	12.32	51,830	18.25
1899	407,235	71,471	21.29	123,301	43.43

PENNSYLVANIA LABOR REPORTS.

The Secretary of Internal Affairs of the State of Pennsylvania in his report for 1900 publishes a series of tables of comparative statistics relating to 830 *identical* establishments representing 89 industries. Extracts from these tables are presented here and some further figures are shown which enables a ready comparison of present conditions with conditions which prevailed during the last Democratic administration.

The first table presents a study of the increase in the number of employees. It must be borne in mind that these reports are from identical establishments for the whole series of years, 1896 to 1900. In 1896 the average number of employees was 134,790, which number increased to 140,661 in 1897, a gain of 5,871 or 4.36 per cent. In 1898 the number was 156,943, a gain of 16,282 or 11.58 per cent over 1897 and a gain of 22,153 or 16.44 per cent over 1896. In 1899 the number was 179,779, a gain of 22,836 or 14.55 per cent over 1898 and a gain of 44,989 or 33.38 per cent over 1896. In the year 1900 the number of employees was 190,024, a gain of 10,245 or 5.70 per cent over 1899 and a gain of 55,234 or 40.98 per cent over the Democratic times of 1896.

This means that where 100 persons were employed in 1896, 141 persons were employed in 1900.

The table presenting aggregate wages paid by these 830 establishments makes a still better showing. The amount paid in wages in 1897 was 4.79 per cent greater than in 1896. In 1898 the amount was 16.76 per cent above 1897, and 22.35 above 1896. In 1899 the amount was 24.19 per cent greater than in 1898 and \$26,643.939 or 51.94 per cent greater than in 1896.

The year 1900 shows an increase of 6.38 per cent over 1899, and when compared with 1896 an increase of \$31,619,512 or 61.64 per cent. Or, for every \$100 disbursed for wages in 1896 the same establishments in 1900 disbursed \$161.64.

Not only did these companies in 1900 employ 141 persons for every 100 employed in 1896 but, as shown in a following table, the average yearly earnings of each employee were decidedly greater in 1900. The average yearly earnings in 1896 were \$380.54, while in 1900 the average was \$436.33, a gain of \$55.79 or 14.66 per cent as compared with 1896.

The average days in operation increased from 270 in 1896 to 288 in 1900, a gain of 18 days or 6.67 per cent.

Summarizing these tables, it is seen that for every 100 persons who were employed in 1896, 141 persons now have employment; that for every \$100 paid to the wage-earners in 1896, \$161.64 are now paid; that even with the phenomenal increase in the number of persons furnished employment the average yearly

earnings have also been increased; that instead of an average of \$380.54 to each of 134,790 persons in 1896, an average of \$436.33 to each of 190,024 was paid in 1900; that in 1896 employment was furnished 134,790 persons for 270 days while in 1900, 190,024 persons were employed for 288 days.

The tables follow:

Eight hundred and thirty identical establishments, representing 89 industries.

[Compiled from the Annual Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Vol. XVIII, 1900.]

INCREASE IN NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED.

Year.	Persons employed.	Increase as compared with previous year shown.		Increase as compared with the year 1896.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
1896.....	134,790	.....	.....	.....	.....
1897.....	140,661	5,871	4.36	5,871	4.36
1898.....	156,043	16,282	11.58	22,153	16.44
1899.....	179,779	22,836	14.55	44,989	33.38
1900.....	190,024	10,245	5.70	55,234	40.98

INCREASE IN AGGREGATE WAGES PAID.

Year.	Aggregate wages paid	Increase as compared with previous year shown.		Increase as compared with the year 1896.	
		Amount.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.
1896.....	\$51,298,561	.....	.....	.....	.....
1897.....	53,749,916	\$2,456,355	4.79	\$2,456,355	4.79
1898.....	62,757,811	9,007,895	16.76	11,464,250	22.35
1899.....	77,937,500	15,179,689	24.19	26,643,939	51.94
1900.....	82,913,073	4,975,573	6.38	31,619,512	61.64

INCREASE IN AVERAGE YEARLY EARNINGS.

Year.	Average yearly earnings.	Increase as compared with previous year shown.		Increase as compared with the year 1896.	
		Amount.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.
1896.....	\$380 54	.....	.....	.....	.....
1897.....	382 12	\$1.58	0.42	\$1.58	0.42
1898.....	399 88	17.76	4.65	19.34	5.08
1899.....	433 52	33.64	8.41	52.98	13.92
1900.....	436 33	2.81	.65	55.70	14.66

INCREASE IN AVERAGE DAYS IN OPERATION.

Year.	Average days in operation.	Increase as compared with previous year shown.		Increase as compared with the year 1896.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
1896.....	270				
1897.....	280	16	5.93	16	5.93
1898.....	286	0	0	16	5.93
1899.....	287	1	.35	17	6.30
1900.....	288	1	.35	18	6.67

WISCONSIN LABOR REPORTS.

The biennial reports of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics of Wisconsin present information relating to 1,499 establishments for the years 1896, 1897, and 1898. In 1899 the Bureau, owing to lack of time, was unable to investigate but 992 establishments, but based on the establishments investigated, the Bureau in its Tenth Biennial Report has given the per cent of increase in number of persons employed and total wages paid, and the actual increase in average yearly earnings and average days in operation in 1899 as compared with 1896.

The statement of the commissioner follows:

"Among the more important results with respect to the growth of our manufacturing industries since 1896, which developed through the above investigations, the following may be mentioned. * * * From 1896 to 1899, inclusive, the following changes took place. * * * In the total amount paid as wages the increase amounts to 37.31 per cent. In the average number of persons employed it was 31.65 per cent. * * *

From the returns of 1500 establishments it was found that average yearly earnings to each worker or, to each position which was constantly filled during the business year, was \$396.63 in 1896, \$416.63 in 1897, \$418.95 in 1898, and \$420.50 in 1899. This is an increase in 1899 over 1896 of \$23.87.

In the days in operation the increase is equally gratifying. Thus we find that the average number of days in operation was 263.40 in 1896, 270.81 in 1897, 278.40 in 1898, and 281.90 in 1899. The increase in 1899 over 1896, thus amounted to 18.5 days. It is easy to see what this increase means not only to employers but to the employees as well."

RAILWAY LABOR DURING REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS.

There is no better index to the industrial condition of a country than the amount of business done by the railways, and, as the railways in this country employ over one million persons, the increase or decrease in traffic materially affects a large proportion of the population.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1896 (Cleveland's administration), there were 826,620 railway employees in the United States receiving a total yearly compensation of \$468,824,531. In 1900 there were 1,017,653 railway employees receiving a total yearly compensation of \$577,264,841. This shows an increase in four years of 191,033 railway employees and of \$108,440,310 in aggregate salaries and wages. In other words, nearly 200,000 more persons were employed by the railways in the United States on June 30, 1900, than on June 30, 1896, when the Democratic party was in power, and over \$100,000,000 more were paid in wages and salaries. The following table shows the number of railway employees of each class for each of the years, 1896 to 1900:

America has only just begun to assume that commanding position in the international business world which we believe will more and more be hers. It is of the utmost importance that this position be not jeopardized, especially at a time when the overflowing abundance of our own natural resources and the skill, business energy, and mechanical aptitude of our people make foreign markets essential. Under such conditions it would be most unwise to cramp or to fetter the youthful strength of our Nation.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

We have but little room among our people for the timid, the irresolute, and the idle; and it is no less true that there is scant room in the world at large for the nation with mighty thews that dares not to be great.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

Shipping lines, if established to the principal countries with which we have dealings, would be of political as well as commercial benefit. From every standpoint it is unwise for the United States to continue to rely upon the ships of competing nations for the distribution of our goods. It should be made advantageous to carry American goods in American-built ships.—President Roosevelt, in Message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN TEXT-BOOK.

Comparative summary of railway employees, by class and per 100 miles of line, for the years ending June 30, 1896 to 1900.

[From the Report on Statistics of Railways in the United States, 1900, published by the Interstate Commerce Commission.]

Class.	1900.		1899.		1898.		1897.		1896.	
	Number.	Per 100 miles of line.	Number.	Per 100 miles of line.	Number.	Per 100 miles of line.	Number.	Per 100 miles of line.	Number.	Per 100 miles of line.
General officers	4,916	8	4,882	8	4,956	8	4,880	8	5,872	8
Other officers	4,660	2	4,294	2	3,925	2	3,880	2	2,718	1
General office clerks	32,265	17	29,371	16	26,845	15	26,887	15	26,828	14
Station agents	31,610	16	30,787	16	30,690	17	30,049	16	29,723	16
Other station men	89,851	47	83,910	45	78,603	43	74,569	41	75,919	42
Engineers	42,887	22	39,970	21	37,939	20	35,967	19	35,351	20
Firemen	44,180	23	41,152	22	38,925	21	36,785	20	36,762	20
Conductors	29,957	16	28,232	15	26,876	15	25,922	14	25,457	14
Other trainmen	74,274	39	69,407	37	66,908	36	63,678	35	64,306	36
Machinists	82,831	17	80,377	16	78,532	16	76,229	15	76,272	16
Carpenters	46,666	24	42,501	23	40,374	22	37,740	20	38,246	21
Other shopmen	14,773	60	103,987	55	99,717	54	91,415	50	91,613	53
Section foremen	33,685	17	31,690	17	30,771	17	30,414	17	30,372	17
Other trackmen	226,709	118	201,708	107	184,494	100	171,752	94	160,664	93
Switchmen, flagmen, and watchmen ..	50,789	26	46,686	26	47,124	25	48,768	24	44,266	24
Telegraph operators and dispatchers ..	25,218	13	23,944	13	22,488	12	21,452	12	21,682	12
Employees—account floating equipment	7,597	4	6,775	4	6,349	3	6,409	3	5,502	3
All other employees and laborers	125,386	65	107,261	57	98,673	53	90,725	49	88,407	49
Total	1,017,653	529	928,924	495	874,558	474	828,476	449	826,620	454

TRUSTS AND LABOR.**A STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS AND THEIR EFFECT ON WAGES,
EMPLOYMENT, AND PRICES.**

The United States Department of Labor published in its bulletin for July, 1900, the results of a careful investigation of 41 trusts and industrial combinations, the investigation covering, among other subjects, the dates of formation, capitalization, amount and character of stocks and bonds issued, profits, wages, number of employees, and prices before and after the combination, etc. The report was prepared by Prof. J. W. Jenks, of Cornell University, the trust expert of the United States Industrial Commission, and the material was collected by special agents and experts of the United States Department of Labor.

As far as statistics were available the report shows in general a greater number of persons employed and higher wages paid in the same establishment after the combination than before. Owing to the fact that the books of many corporations before they entered into the combination were not accessible, only a portion of the combinations were able to furnish statistics of wages and persons employed before and after the combination.

The report shows that of 14 establishments giving returns 9 show an increase in the average wages of superintendents and foremen, 4 show a decrease, and in 1 there has been no change. Out of these 14 companies 10 were formed in the years 1898 and 1899, so that the comparison of conditions before and after is a very direct one.

In 7 cases out of the 14 the wages of traveling salesmen increased, in 2 they decreased, and in 1 they remained the same. In 2 cases no traveling salesmen had been employed by the companies entering into the combination, whereas after the combination was made such men were put to work. In one case in which traveling salesmen had been employed by the separate companies their services were dispensed with after the combination. One establishment reported none employed before or after.

The average annual wages of skilled laborers have increased in 10 cases and decreased in 2. The average annual wages of unskilled laborers have increased in 10 cases, decreased in 1, and remained the same in 1, after the combination.

Taking the employees as a whole, the results show that out of 12 cases reporting there had been an increase of wages in 9 cases and a decrease in 3.

Taking all employees collectively in each of the 13 combinations reporting, there have been but two cases of a decrease in the number of employees and but one case of a decrease in the total annual wages paid.

The following table shows the annual average wages paid before and after the formation of the combinations and the per cent of increase or decrease in the average annual wages, as well as the per cent of increase or decrease in the number of employees and the total amount of wages paid, by classes of employees:

Average annual wages paid before and after the formation of the combinations, and per cent of increase or decrease in wages, and the number of employees.

Occupations.	Combinations reporting.	Average annual wages paid.			Per cent of increase or decrease in the number of employees.	Per cent of increase or decrease in total amount of wages paid.
		Under uniting companies.	Under combinations.	Per cent of increase or decrease.		
Superintendents and foremen.	12	\$1,202	\$1,227	- 2.77	+ 11.70	+ 8.52
Traveling salesmen.....	12	1,946	1,246	- 7.48	- 4.17	- 8.57
Skilled laborers.....	9	620	705	+ 18.71	+ 29.34	+ 40.13
Unskilled laborers.....	9	284	351	+ 19.89	+ 20.06	+ 40.8
Clerks	9	757	798	+ 5.42	+ 36.45	+ 49.98
Other employees	9	754	662	- 12.20	+ 29.06	+ 13.42
All employees	9	460	518	+12.61	+ 21.56	+ 36.6

This table shows an increase in the average annual wages paid to skilled laborers, to unskilled laborers, and to clerks, and a decrease in the average annual wages paid to superintendents and foremen, traveling salesmen, and the unclassified employees. Taking all of the employees together, the percentage of increase of average annual wages has been 12.61.

In all lines, taking together all the establishments which have reported, there has been a decided increase in the number of employees; and in all cases, with the exception of the traveling salesmen, there has been also an increase in the total amount of wages paid.

A table giving the total amount of gross sales, number of employees and total annual wages in the case of eight combinations reporting, shows a decided increase in the efficiency of the employees, the average increase of gross sales being 47.32 per cent, as compared with an increase of 27.59 per cent in the number of employees, and 38.19 per cent in the total annual wages paid. The increase of 38.19 per cent in the annual wages as compared with the increase of 27.59 per cent in the number of employees, shows that the benefit of this increase of efficiency did not go entirely to the employers, but was divided between them and the employees.

**PROTECTED LABOR IN AMERICA vs. FREE-TRADE LABOR
IN GREAT BRITAIN.****HIGHER WAGES AND LOWER PRICES IN THE UNITED STATES.**

The most complete comparative statistics of wages in the United States and Europe that have ever been collected in any country were obtained by the United States Department of Labor and published in the September (1898) bulletin of that Department.

To secure this information a personal canvass was made of the wage pay rolls of establishments doing business continually since 1870 in this country and Europe. Thus continuous and accurate returns have been obtained from 1870 to 1896 for the various countries considered. In this country the information was collected by agents of the United States Department of Labor, and in Great Britain by persons acting under the supervision of the British labor department. The work was done simultaneously, according to the same plan of schedules, and at the expense of the United States Department of Labor. There can thus be no cavil as to the accuracy and comparability of the wage statistics presented in this official publication.

These statistics show a remarkable difference between wage conditions in the United States and Great Britain, a difference amounting to nearly 100 per cent in favor of the American workingman. As the statistics of Great Britain cover only three cities, viz: London, Glasgow, and Manchester, it would be useless in this connection to reproduce the wage data for all the American cities, especially as to the wage rates shown in the report differ but slightly in the various American cities. In our comparison of American and British wage rates we have therefore selected the three American cities which, on account of their population, are most nearly comparable with the above-named British cities, namely, New York, Chicago, and St. Louis, respectively.

The comparative figures given below show the wage rates for the entire period of 1870 to 1896, inclusive. A comparison of these wage rates will show at a glance that protection America is decidedly preferable to free-trade England, and that notwithstanding the erroneous statements often made by politicians and agitators that wages in this country are approaching those of European pauper labor, there has been up to the last Cleveland régime, an almost steady increase in wages in this country, and there has not been at any time the slightest tendency toward the low rates with which the British workingman must content himself.

A comparison of the average wage rates during the last year shown in each of the tables, namely, 1896, gives the following interesting results:

Blacksmiths received \$2.45 per day in New York and \$1.62¼ in London; \$2.80 in Chicago and \$1.48 in Glasgow, and \$2.26¼ in St. Louis and \$1.46 in Manchester.

Blacksmiths' helpers received \$1.65 per day in St. Louis and \$0.93¼ in Manchester, and \$1.69½ in Chicago and \$0.85¼ in Glasgow.

Cabinetmakers received \$2.50 per day in New York and \$1.68½ per day in London; \$2.53 per day in St. Louis and \$1.37¼ in Manchester.

Carpenters received \$3.49¾ per day in New York and \$1.68¾ in London; \$2.80 in St. Louis and \$1.50¼ in Manchester, and \$2.54 in Chicago and \$1.55¼ in Glasgow.

Iron molders received \$2.73¾ per day in Chicago and \$1.62¼ in London; \$2.30 in St. Louis and \$1.58¼ in Manchester.

Machinists received \$2.55 per day in New York and \$1.54¼ in London; \$2.52½ in St. Louis and \$1.46 in Manchester.

Pattern makers received \$2.78½ per day in St. Louis and \$1.58¼ in Manchester.

In England, as in the United States, there was a steady increase in wages, owing to the organization of labor, the better education of the working people, and the improved opportunities for high-class work. While in Great Britain there were no serious wars or other influences to give a set-back to the steady upward course of wages during the period from 1870 to 1896 covered by the investigation, the United States have had two occasions upon which there were such interruptions. The first was from 1873 to 1876, the period of reaction from the abnormal conditions caused by the civil war, and from 1893 to 1896, the period of Cleveland "tariff reform." Notwithstanding these interruptions the net increase in wages from 1870 to 1896 was relatively greater in the United States than in Great Britain.

We now, almost for the first time in our history, know no North, no South, no East, no West, but are all for a common country.—President McKinley at Yankton, S. Dak., October 14, 1899.

We have been moving in untried paths, but our steps have been guided by honor and duty; there will be no turning aside, no wavering, no retreat.—President McKinley to notification committee, July 12, 1900.

**Duty determines destiny. Destiny which results from duty performed may bring anxiety and perils, but never failure and dishonor. Pursuing duty may not always lead by smooth paths. Another course may look easier and more attractive, but pur-
 duty for duty's sake is always sure and safe and hon-
 President McKinley at Chicago, October 19, 1898.**

Average wage rates in American and English cities from 1870 to 1896.

[From Bulletin No. 18 of the United States Department of Labor.]

BLACKSMITHS.

Year.	New York.	St. Louis.	Chicago.	Great Britain.		
				London.	Manchester.	Glasgow.
1870.....	\$2.24 $\frac{3}{4}$	\$2.80	\$2.51 $\frac{1}{2}$	(a)	\$1.29 $\frac{3}{4}$	\$1.00 $\frac{1}{2}$
1871.....	2.50 $\frac{3}{4}$	2.60	2.71	\$1.46	1.29 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.00 $\frac{3}{4}$
1872.....	2.61 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.74 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.89	1.46	1.29 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.00 $\frac{3}{4}$
1873.....	2.58	2.61 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.76 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.46	1.29 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.13 $\frac{1}{2}$
1874.....	2.40 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.64	2.75 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.46	1.29 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.17 $\frac{1}{2}$
1875.....	2.37 $\frac{3}{4}$	2.66 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.57	1.46	1.29 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.17 $\frac{1}{2}$
1876.....	2.59 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.64 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.51 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.29 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.17 $\frac{1}{2}$
1877.....	2.54 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.74 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.56 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38	1.13 $\frac{1}{2}$
1878.....	2.59	2.95 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.60	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38	1.09 $\frac{1}{2}$
1879.....	2.60	2.68 $\frac{3}{4}$	2.69 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38	1.09 $\frac{1}{2}$
1880.....	2.67 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.63 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.67 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38	1.21 $\frac{1}{2}$
1881.....	2.67 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.64 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.90 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38	1.17 $\frac{1}{2}$
1882.....	2.62 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.59	2.88	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38	1.21 $\frac{1}{2}$
1883.....	2.82 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.63 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.83 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38	1.21 $\frac{1}{2}$
1884.....	2.92 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.63 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.80 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38	1.21 $\frac{1}{2}$
1885.....	2.62 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.63 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.88	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38	1.21 $\frac{1}{2}$
1886.....	2.75	2.63 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.90 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38	1.17 $\frac{1}{2}$
1887.....	3.20	2.68	2.91	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38	1.17 $\frac{1}{2}$
1888.....	3.17 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.68	2.87 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38	1.21 $\frac{1}{2}$
1889.....	2.80	2.68	2.84 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.29 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.25 $\frac{1}{2}$
1890.....	2.82 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.68	2.86 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38	1.25 $\frac{1}{2}$
1891.....	2.52 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.63 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.88	1.62 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.38	1.29 $\frac{3}{4}$
1892.....	2.92 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.64 $\frac{3}{4}$	2.84	1.62 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.38	1.33 $\frac{3}{4}$
1893.....	2.92 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.62 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.92 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.62 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.38	1.41
1894.....	2.92 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.62 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.78 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.62 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.38	1.36
1895.....	2.50	2.62 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.80	1.62 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.38	1.44
1896.....	2.45	2.20 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.80 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.62 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.46	1.43

a Not reported.

BLACKSMITHS' HELPERS.

Year.	St. Louis.	Chi- cago.	Great Britain.		Year.	St. Louis.	Chi- cago.	Great Britain.	
			Man- chester.	Glas- gow.				Man- chester.	Glas- gow.
1870.....	\$1.07 $\frac{1}{4}$	\$1.65	\$0.81 $\frac{1}{4}$	\$0.78	1884.....	\$1.40	\$1.63 $\frac{1}{2}$	\$0.85 $\frac{1}{4}$	\$0.75
1871.....	1.22	1.69 $\frac{1}{2}$	.81 $\frac{1}{4}$	.78	1885.....	1.40	1.60 $\frac{3}{4}$	.85 $\frac{1}{4}$	.73
1872.....	1.28 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.83 $\frac{1}{4}$	.81 $\frac{1}{4}$	.78	1886.....	1.40	1.66 $\frac{3}{4}$	.85 $\frac{1}{4}$	.73
1873.....	1.19 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.74	.81 $\frac{1}{2}$	.78	1887.....	1.40	1.70 $\frac{3}{4}$	.85 $\frac{1}{4}$	.77
1874.....	1.25 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.63 $\frac{3}{4}$	.81 $\frac{1}{2}$	.78	1888.....	1.43	1.70 $\frac{1}{4}$	.85 $\frac{1}{4}$	.79
1875.....	1.24 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.55 $\frac{1}{2}$	.81 $\frac{1}{2}$	.78	1889.....	1.43	1.70 $\frac{3}{4}$	.81 $\frac{1}{4}$	.79
1876.....	1.19 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.47 $\frac{1}{2}$	.85 $\frac{1}{2}$	.78	1890.....	1.43	1.70 $\frac{3}{4}$	.85 $\frac{1}{4}$	.81 $\frac{1}{4}$
1877.....	1.31 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.57 $\frac{1}{2}$	.85 $\frac{1}{2}$	.78	1891.....	1.45	1.70 $\frac{3}{4}$	.85 $\frac{1}{4}$	.81 $\frac{1}{4}$
1878.....	1.38	1.68 $\frac{3}{4}$	.85 $\frac{1}{2}$	.78	1892.....	1.52	1.72	.85 $\frac{1}{4}$	.85 $\frac{1}{4}$
1879.....	1.35	1.66 $\frac{3}{4}$	.85 $\frac{1}{2}$	.78	1893.....	1.53	1.73 $\frac{3}{4}$	.85 $\frac{1}{4}$	.81 $\frac{1}{4}$
1880.....	1.35	1.63 $\frac{1}{2}$	.85 $\frac{1}{2}$	.75	1894.....	1.62	1.66 $\frac{3}{4}$	.85 $\frac{1}{4}$	.85 $\frac{1}{4}$
1881.....	1.35	1.61 $\frac{1}{2}$	.85 $\frac{1}{2}$	.75	1895.....	1.53	1.70 $\frac{1}{2}$	.85 $\frac{1}{4}$	.85 $\frac{1}{4}$
1882.....	1.35	1.62 $\frac{1}{2}$	.85 $\frac{1}{2}$	.75	1896.....	1.65	1.69 $\frac{1}{2}$	.93 $\frac{1}{4}$	.85 $\frac{1}{4}$
1883.....	1.40	1.65	.85 $\frac{1}{2}$	.77					

CARPENTERS.

Year.	New York.	St. Louis.	Chi- cago.	Great Britain.		
				London.	Man- chester.	Glasgow.
1870.....	\$2.87½	\$2.88½	\$2.12½	\$1.58	\$1.84	\$1.12½
1871.....	3.15	3.16½	2.61½	1.58	1.84	1.12½
1872.....	3.19½	3.20½	2.58½	1.51	1.84	1.21½
1873.....	3.00½	3.10½	2.27½	1.50½	1.47½	1.28½
1874.....	3.16½	3.14½	1.94½	1.50½	1.47½	1.38½
1875.....	3.04½	3.11	1.96½	1.50½	1.49½	1.46½
1876.....	2.09½	3.10½	1.91	1.50½	1.49½	1.55½
1877.....	3.10½	3.29½	2.10¾	1.50½	1.49½	1.55½
1878.....	3.30½	2.76½	2.11	1.50½	1.47½	1.38½
1879.....	3.37½	2.80	2.23½	1.50½	1.47½	1.12½
1880.....	3.40½	2.80	2.20	1.50½	1.47½	1.12½
1881.....	3.43½	2.80	2.37½	1.50½	1.47½	1.21½
1882.....	3.48½	2.80	2.31½	1.50½	1.47½	1.21½
1883.....	3.48½	2.80	2.32½	1.50½	1.47½	1.20½
1884.....	3.49	2.80	2.38½	1.50½	1.47½	1.20½
1885.....	3.48½	2.80	2.35½	1.50½	1.47½	1.23½
1886.....	3.49½	2.80	2.44½	1.50½	1.47½	1.23½
1887.....	3.49½	2.40	2.48	1.50½	1.47½	1.23½
1888.....	3.49½	2.40	2.47½	1.50½	1.47½	1.23½
1889.....	3.49½	2.40	2.32	1.50½	1.47½	1.38½
1890.....	3.48½	2.80	2.28½	1.50½	1.49½	1.38½
1891.....	3.49	3.18	2.58½	1.50	1.49½	1.40½
1892.....	3.49½	3.20	2.50½	1.60½	1.49½	1.40½
1893.....	3.49½	3.20	2.46	1.60½	1.49½	1.46½
1894.....	3.49½	3.20	2.44½	1.60½	1.49½	1.46½
1895.....	3.49½	2.80	2.69½	1.60½	1.50½	1.46½
1896.....	3.49½	2.80	2.54	1.68½	1.50½	1.55½

COMPOSITORS.

Year.	New York.	St. Louis.	Chi- cago.	Great Britain.		
				London.	Man- chester.	Glasgow.
1870.....	\$2.53	\$2.36½	\$2.38½	\$1.46	\$1.21½	\$1.11½
1871.....	2.76¾	2.57½	3.16½	1.46	1.21½	1.24½
1872.....	2.80	2.62½	3.20½	1.46	1.38½	1.21½
1873.....	2.72½	2.54	3.10½	1.46	1.38½	1.21½
1874.....	2.50½	2.57½	3.14½	1.46	1.42	1.21½
1875.....	2.58	2.53½	3.11	1.46	1.42	1.21½
1876.....	2.80	2.55½	3.10½	1.46	1.42	1.21½
1877.....	2.84	2.69½	3.20½	1.46	1.42	1.31½
1878.....	2.85	2.81½	2.65½	1.46	1.42	1.31½
1879.....	2.97	2.89½	3.00	1.46	1.42	1.31½
1880.....	2.98	2.92½	3.00	1.46	1.42	1.31½
1881.....	2.95	2.93½	3.00	1.46	1.42	1.31½
1882.....	2.74	2.92	3.00	1.46	1.42	1.31½
1883.....	2.74½	2.92	3.00	1.46	1.42	1.31½
1884.....	3.02½	2.92½	3.00	1.46	1.42	1.31½
1885.....	3.03	2.92½	3.00	1.46	1.42	1.31½
1886.....	3.02½	2.89	3.00	1.46	1.42	1.31½
1887.....	3.02½	2.88½	3.00	1.46	1.42	1.31½
1888.....	3.02½	2.88	3.00	1.46	1.42	1.31½
1889.....	3.03½	2.88	3.00	1.46	1.42	1.31½
1890.....	3.05½	2.88½	3.00	1.46	1.42	1.31½
1891.....	3.08½	2.88	3.00	1.54½	1.42	1.38
1892.....	3.09½	2.88	3.00	1.54½	1.42	1.38
1893.....	3.10½	2.87	3.00	1.54½	1.42	1.38
1894.....	3.09½	2.89½	3.00	1.54½	1.42	1.38
1895.....	3.07½	2.90½	3.00	1.54½	1.42	1.38
1896.....	3.14	2.91	3.00	1.54½	1.42	1.38

IRON MOULDERS.

Year.	Chi- cago.	St. Louis.	Great Britain.		Year.	Chi- cago.	St. Louis.	Great Britain.	
			Lon- don.	Man- ches- ter.				Lon- don.	Man- ches- ter.
1870.....	\$2.52 ³ / ₄	\$2.47 ¹ / ₄	\$1.46	\$1.46	1884.....	\$2.60	\$2.50	\$1.54 ¹ / ₄	\$1.54 ¹ / ₄
1871.....	3.07 ¹ / ₄	2.71	1.46	1.46	1885.....	2.65	2.40	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄
1872.....	3.04	2.75	1.46	1.46	1886.....	2.61 ¹ / ₂	2.40	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄
1873.....	2.90 ¹ / ₂	2.44	1.46	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1887.....	2.62 ¹ / ₂	2.35	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄
1874.....	2.81 ¹ / ₂	2.46 ³ / ₄	1.46	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1888.....	2.66	2.35	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄
1875.....	2.62 ³ / ₄	2.44 ¹ / ₂	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1889.....	2.66	2.35	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄
1876.....	2.37 ³ / ₄	2.35	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1890.....	2.74 ¹ / ₄	2.40	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄
1877.....	2.45 ³ / ₄	2.35 ¹ / ₂	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1891.....	2.82	2.50	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄
1878.....	2.48	2.46 ¹ / ₂	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.46	1892.....	2.83 ¹ / ₄	2.50	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄
1879.....	2.46 ¹ / ₂	2.50	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.46	1893.....	2.87 ¹ / ₄	2.40	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄
1880.....	2.55 ³ / ₄	2.40	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.46	1894.....	2.63 ¹ / ₄	2.60	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄
1881.....	2.72 ³ / ₄	2.35	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.46	1895.....	2.60 ¹ / ₄	2.50	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄
1882.....	2.71 ³ / ₄	2.40	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1896.....	2.73 ³ / ₄	2.30	1.62 ¹ / ₄	1.58 ³ / ₄
1883.....	2.67 ³ / ₄	2.50	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄					

MACHINISTS.

Year.	New York.	St. Louis.	Great Britain.		Year.	New York.	St. Louis.	Great Britain.	
			Lon- don.	Man- ches- ter.				Lon- don.	Man- ches- ter.
1870.....	\$2.26 ³ / ₄	\$1.81 ³ / ₄	\$1.46	\$1.21 ³ / ₄	1884.....	\$2.82 ¹ / ₄	\$2.46 ¹ / ₄	\$1.54 ¹ / ₄	\$1.38
1871.....	2.28	2.11 ¹ / ₂	1.46	1.21 ³ / ₄	1885.....	2.40	2.43 ¹ / ₂	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.38
1872.....	2.40 ¹ / ₄	2.10 ¹ / ₂	1.46	1.29 ³ / ₄	1886.....	2.62 ¹ / ₂	2.36 ³ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.29 ³ / ₄
1873.....	2.28 ¹ / ₂	1.94 ³ / ₄	1.46	1.29 ³ / ₄	1887.....	2.70	2.48 ³ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.29 ³ / ₄
1874.....	2.31 ¹ / ₄	2.02	1.46	1.29 ³ / ₄	1888.....	2.75	2.43 ¹ / ₂	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.29 ³ / ₄
1875.....	2.33 ¹ / ₄	2.06 ¹ / ₄	1.46	1.29 ³ / ₄	1889.....	2.70	2.52 ³ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.38
1876.....	2.30 ¹ / ₄	2.06	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.29 ³ / ₄	1890.....	2.70	2.44 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.38
1877.....	2.47 ¹ / ₄	2.17	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.29 ³ / ₄	1891.....	2.67 ¹ / ₂	2.47	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.42
1878.....	2.49	2.48 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.29 ³ / ₄	1892.....	2.65	2.46 ³ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.42
1879.....	2.47 ¹ / ₄	2.22 ³ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.29 ³ / ₄	1893.....	2.62 ¹ / ₂	2.46	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.38
1880.....	2.52 ¹ / ₄	2.47 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.29 ³ / ₄	1894.....	2.65	2.51	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.38
1881.....	2.47 ¹ / ₂	2.46 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.29 ³ / ₄	1895.....	2.47 ¹ / ₂	2.49 ¹ / ₂	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.38
1882.....	2.85	2.46	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.38	1896.....	2.55	2.32 ¹ / ₂	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.46
1883.....	2.55	2.48 ¹ / ₄	1.54 ¹ / ₄	1.38					

MASONS, STONE.

Year.	New York.	London.	Year.	New York.	London.
1870.....	\$2.88 ¹ / ₂	\$1.58	1884.....	\$3.50	\$1.58 ¹ / ₄
1871.....	3.16 ¹ / ₂	1.58	1885.....	3.25	1.58 ¹ / ₄
1872.....	3.20 ¹ / ₄	1.51	1886.....	3.50	1.58 ¹ / ₄
1873.....	3.10	1.59 ³ / ₄	1887.....	3.50	1.58 ¹ / ₄
1874.....	2.69 ¹ / ₂	1.59 ³ / ₄	1888.....	3.50	1.58 ¹ / ₄
1875.....	2.66 ¹ / ₄	1.59 ³ / ₄	1889.....	3.50	1.58 ¹ / ₄
1876.....	2.21 ³ / ₄	1.59 ³ / ₄	1890.....	4.00	1.59 ³ / ₄
1877.....	1.88 ¹ / ₄	1.59 ³ / ₄	1891.....	4.00	1.59 ³ / ₄
1878.....	1.97 ¹ / ₄	1.59 ³ / ₄	1892.....	4.00	1.52
1879.....	2.50	1.59 ³ / ₄	1893.....	4.00	1.60 ¹ / ₂
1880.....	2.50	1.59 ³ / ₄	1894.....	4.00	1.60 ¹ / ₂
1881.....	3.00	1.59 ³ / ₄	1895.....	4.00	1.60 ¹ / ₂
1882.....	3.50	1.59 ³ / ₄	1896.....	4.00	1.66 ³ / ₄
1883.....	3.50	1.59 ³ / ₄			

PAINTERS, HOUSE.

Year.	New York.	St. Louis.	Chi- cago.	Great Britain.		
				Lon- don.	Man- ches- ter.	Glas- gow.
1870.....	\$2.43 $\frac{1}{2}$	\$2.06	\$1.66	\$1.43 $\frac{1}{2}$	\$1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	\$1.19
1871.....	2.66 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.25 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.85 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.43 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.19
1872.....	2.69 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.29 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.40 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.23 $\frac{1}{4}$
1873.....	2.59 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.21 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.76 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.28 $\frac{1}{4}$
1874.....	2.43 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.24 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.65	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.33
1875.....	2.48 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.22 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.56	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.42 $\frac{1}{4}$
1876.....	2.47 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.21 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.51 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.42 $\frac{1}{4}$
1877.....	2.62 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.35 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.67 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.51 $\frac{1}{4}$
1878.....	2.75	2.46 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.88 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.51 $\frac{1}{4}$
1879.....	2.80 $\frac{3}{4}$	2.50	1.94 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.33
1880.....	3.00	2.50	2.08 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.23 $\frac{1}{4}$
1881.....	3.00	2.50	2.27 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.33
1882.....	3.00	2.50	2.52 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.33
1883.....	3.30 $\frac{3}{4}$	2.50	2.59 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.33
1884.....	3.30 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.42	2.58 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.33
1885.....	3.30 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.42	2.67 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.33
1886.....	3.50	2.41 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.41 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.33
1887.....	3.50	2.42 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.40 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.33
1888.....	3.50	2.42 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.51 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.33
1889.....	3.50	2.42 $\frac{1}{2}$	2.44 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.33
1890.....	3.50	2.43 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.30 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.51	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.33
1891.....	3.50	2.43 $\frac{1}{4}$	2.42	1.51	1.43	1.29 $\frac{1}{2}$
1892.....	3.50	2.50	2.59 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.48	1.36 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.29 $\frac{1}{4}$
1893.....	3.50	2.50	2.81	1.48	1.36 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38 $\frac{1}{4}$
1894.....	3.50	2.50	2.63	1.48	1.36 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38 $\frac{1}{4}$
1895.....	3.50	2.50	2.64	1.48	1.36 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.38 $\frac{1}{4}$
1896.....	3.50	2.50	2.61	1.48	1.40 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.38 $\frac{1}{4}$

PLUMBERS.

Year.	New York.	London.	Year.	New York.	London.
1870.....	\$2.75 $\frac{1}{2}$	\$1.43	1884.....	\$3.50	\$1.58 $\frac{3}{4}$
1871.....	3.00 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.43	1885.....	3.50	1.58 $\frac{3}{4}$
1872.....	2.91 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.43	1886.....	3.50	1.58 $\frac{3}{4}$
1873.....	2.76	1.43	1887.....	3.60 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.58 $\frac{3}{4}$
1874.....	2.73	1.43	1888.....	3.60 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.58 $\frac{3}{4}$
1875.....	2.76	1.43	1889.....	3.59 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.58 $\frac{3}{4}$
1876.....	2.75 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.43	1890.....	3.58 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.58 $\frac{3}{4}$
1877.....	2.98 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.43	1891.....	3.59	1.58 $\frac{3}{4}$
1878.....	3.09 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.58 $\frac{3}{4}$	1892.....	3.58 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.66 $\frac{1}{2}$
1879.....	3.12 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.58 $\frac{3}{4}$	1893.....	3.72 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.66 $\frac{1}{2}$
1880.....	3.39 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.58 $\frac{3}{4}$	1894.....	3.74 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.66 $\frac{1}{2}$
1881.....	3.43	1.58 $\frac{3}{4}$	1895.....	3.74 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.66 $\frac{1}{2}$
1882.....	3.50	1.58 $\frac{3}{4}$	1896.....	3.72 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.74 $\frac{1}{4}$
1883.....	3.50	1.58 $\frac{3}{4}$			

PATTERN MAKERS, IRON WORKS.

Year.	St. Louis.	Man- chester.	Year.	St. Louis.	Man- chester.
1870.....	\$2.34 $\frac{1}{4}$	\$1.46	1884.....	\$2.81 $\frac{1}{4}$	\$1.46
1871.....	2.56 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.46	1885.....	2.78 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.53 $\frac{1}{2}$
1872.....	2.60 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.46	1886.....	2.82 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.46
1873.....	2.47 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.46	1887.....	2.76 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.48
1874.....	2.50 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.46	1888.....	2.76 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.52
1875.....	2.41 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.46	1889.....	2.61 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{4}$
1876.....	2.38 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.46	1890.....	2.69 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{4}$
1877.....	2.70 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.46	1891.....	2.60 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{4}$
1878.....	2.88 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.46	1892.....	2.69 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{4}$
1879.....	2.84 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.46	1893.....	2.77 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{4}$
1880.....	2.84 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.46	1894.....	2.78 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{4}$
1881.....	2.85 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.46	1895.....	2.78 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.54 $\frac{1}{4}$
1882.....	2.85 $\frac{3}{4}$	1.46	1896.....	2.78 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.56 $\frac{1}{4}$
1883.....	2.87 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.46			

LOWER PRICES IN THE UNITED STATES THAN IN ENGLAND.

The claim is often made that while wages are higher in the United States the cost of living is correspondingly cheaper in Great Britain. That this statement is erroneous can be proved by official statistics obtained simultaneously in both countries. In 1892 the Senate Committee on Finance made an extensive report on "Retail Prices and Wages" in leading cities of the United States and Europe at different periods from June, 1889, to September, 1891. Among the cities considered in this report were St. Louis, Mo., and Manchester, England, cities for which wage comparisons have just been made. A comparison of the prices of articles of identically the same description, obtained at the same time, namely, June, 1889, and September, 1891, in both cities, shows that instead of the necessary commodities of life being higher in the United States than in England, they are, on the contrary, as a rule, much lower. This is shown in the table which follows. A glance at this table shows that most of the necessary food products, such as bread, eggs, lard, bacon, roast beef, hams, mutton, milk, starch, and canned vegetables, were much lower in St. Louis than in Manchester, while the prices of the few remaining food products averaged about the same in both countries.

With regard to clothing and cloth goods, we find that men's hosiery, cotton shirts, sheetings, shirtings, and cotton and woolen dress goods of the same description and quality, were cheaper in St. Louis than in Manchester; that carpets, flannels, and cotton underwear averaged about the same, and that only in the case of men's hats was there any decided difference in favor of the Manchester purchaser.

Household articles, such as earthenware, glassware, and cutlery, were nearly the same in price in St. Louis as in Manchester, with

a very slight difference in some cases in favor of the latter city. On the other hand, furniture costs from about one-fifth to one-half as much in the United States as in Great Britain, so that for the cost of one bed-room set in Manchester one could buy from two to three sets in St. Louis; and for the cost of one dining table at Manchester, a whole dining-room set could be bought in St. Louis.

But the question may be asked, "If the American workingmen earn so much more and pay so much less for what they consume, why are they not all wealthy and contented?" The answer may be found in the statement of the eminent French scientist, Prof. Emile Levasseur, in his work on "L'Ouvrier Americain" (The American Workingman). After summing up the conditions of labor in America as compared with Europe, he says that wages in the United States are about double the wages in Europe; that objects of ordinary consumption by working people (excepting dwelling houses) cost less in the cities of the United States than in those of Europe; that *the American workingman lives better than the European, that he eats more substantially, dresses better, is more comfortably housed and more often owns his dwelling, spends more for life insurance and various social and beneficial associations, and, in short, has a much higher standard of life than the European workingman.*

So it must be in the future. We gird up our loins as a nation, with the stern purpose to play our part manfully in winning the ultimate triumph, and therefore we turn scornfully aside from the paths of mere ease and idleness, and with unfaltering steps tread the rough road of endeavor, smiting down the wrong and battling for the right as Greatheart smote and battled in Bunyan's immortal story.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

Not only in our own land, but throughout the world, throughout all history, the advance of civilization has been of incalculable benefit to mankind, and those through whom it has advanced deserve the highest honor. All honor to the missionary, all honor to the soldier, all honor to the merchant who now in our day have done so much to bring light into the world's dark places.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

Call the roll of nations which are for protection. * * * At least 430 million people are in favor of protection and 38 million Britons are against it; to whom must be added those Americans whose numbers are not known, who, while living under our flag, seem to follow another.—Major McKinley at Toledo, Ohio, February 12, 1891.

Retail prices of commodities of ordinary consumption in St. Louis, Mo., and Manchester, England, in June, 1889, and September, 1891.
 [Compiled from the report of the Senate Committee on Finance on "Retail Prices and Wages."]

	St. Louis, Mo.		Manchester, England.	
	June, 1889.	Sept., 1891.	June, 1889.	Sept., 1891.
Food products:				
Bread, best quality of bakers', per pound	\$0.22 to \$0.24	\$0.25 to \$0.30	\$0.04 1/2 to .22 1/2	\$0.05 1/2 to .26 1/2
Butter, best creamery, per pound	.12 to .12 1/2	.18 to .20	.18 1/2 to .24 1/2	.18 1/2 to .24 1/2
Eggs, not timed, and from vicinity	.09 to .10	.09 to .10	.16 1/2 to .04 1/2	.04 1/2 to .18 1/2
Lard, pure leaf, per pound	.03 1/2 to .05	.03 to .05	.04 1/2 to .20 1/2	.04 1/2 to .18 1/2
Meat, oat, per pound	.10 1/2 to .12 1/2	.11 to .15	.20 1/2 to .20 1/2	.18 1/2 to .20 1/2
Meat, bacon, per pound	.18 to .25	.20 to .25	.20 1/2 to .20 1/2	.18 1/2 to .20 1/2
Meat, beef, canned corn No. 2 size, per can	.05 to .08	.05 to .08	.11 1/2 to .18 1/2	.18 1/2 to .20 1/2
Meat, beef, roasting, cuts of, per pound	.08 1/2 to .18	.03 1/2 to .15	.14 1/2 to .16 1/2	.16 1/2 to .18 1/2
Meat, ham, per pound	.05 to .10	.05 to .08	.06 to .08	.06 to .08
Meat, mutton, shoulder, per pound	.05 to .06	.01 to .07 1/2	.05 to .05	.05 to .05
Milk, fresh, per quart	.08 to .10	.07 1/2 to .10	.13 1/2 to .22 1/2	.13 1/2 to .22 1/2
Rice, Carolina prime, or similar grade, per pound	.07 1/2 to .10	.04 1/2 to .05	.11 1/2 to .11 1/2	.10 1/2 to .10 1/2
Sugar, granulated, per pound	.08 to .10	.08 1/2 to .10		
Vegetables, canned, corn, standard No. 2 size, per can	.10 to .15	.10 to .15		
Vegetables, canned, peas, standard No. 2 size, per can	.08 to .10	.08 1/2 to .10		
Vegetables, canned, tomatoes, standard No. 3 size, per can	.75 to .80	.85 to .90	.91 1/2 to .91 1/2	.79 to .79
Cloth and clothing:				
Carpets, Ingrain, standard, per yard	.80 to 1.00	.25 to .45	.81 1/2 to .81 1/2	.81 1/2 to .81 1/2
Flannels, twilled scarlet, all wool, 3-4, per yard	2.00 to 3.00	1.00 to 2.50	.85 1/2 to .85 1/2	.85 1/2 to .85 1/2
Hats, men's derby, medium grade, each	.10 to .15	.10 to .15	.24 1/2 to .24 1/2	.24 1/2 to .24 1/2
Hosiery, men's cotton socks, mixed, per pair	.50 to .75	.50 to .75	1.00 1/2 to 1.00 1/2	1.00 1/2 to 1.00 1/2
Linen goods, men's cotton shirts, linen bosoms, 8 by 15 in.	.07 1/2 to .08 1/2	.07 1/2 to .08 1/2	.18 1/2 to .18 1/2	.18 1/2 to .18 1/2
Sheetings, brown standard, per yard	.08 1/2 to .10	.05 1/2 to .08	.46 1/2 to .46 1/2	.46 1/2 to .46 1/2
Shirtings, bleached, 4-4, per yard	.35 to .65	.35 to .75	.36 1/2 to .36 1/2	.36 1/2 to .36 1/2
Underwear, cotton shirts, Balbriggan, 84 gauge	.25 to .25	.25 to .25	.24 1/2 to .24 1/2	.24 1/2 to .24 1/2
Underwear, cotton drawers, Balbriggan, 84 gauge, per pair	1.00 to 1.25	.08 to .08 1/2	.07 to .07	.06 to .06
Underwear, cotton drawers, Balbriggan, 84 gauge, per pair	.08 to .08 1/2	.04 1/2 to .05	.146 to .146	.07 to .07
Women's dress goods, cotton warp cashmere, per yard	.08 to .125	.05 to .05	.85 1/2 to .85 1/2	.85 1/2 to .85 1/2
Women's dress goods, all wool cashmere, per yard				
Miscellaneous:				
Soap, best family, per pound	.06 to .06 1/2	.06 to .06 1/2		
Starch, ordinary laundry, per pound	.50 to .75	.50 to .75		
Quinine, per ounce				
Earthenware, teacups and saucers, white granite, with handles, per dozen				

Furniture, bed-room set, ash or elm, 8 pieces (bedstead, bureau, and washstand).....	\$18.50 to \$20.00	\$18.50 to \$26.00	a \$51.22	a \$51.22	a \$51.22
Furniture, tables, dining, plain oak extension, each, 5-foot.....	8.15 to 8.50	8.15 to 8.00	a 18.25	a 18.25	a 18.25
Furniture, tables, kitchen, plain wood, 4-foot.....	1.50 to 2.00	1.50 to 1.75	a 4.01½	a 4.01½	a 4.01½
Glassware, tumblers, common pressed, ½ pint, per dozen.....	.40 to .40	.40 to .40	a .42½	a .42½	a .42½
Knives and forks, table, iron handles, per dozen each.....	.50 to 1.10	.50 to 1.10	a .48½	a .48½	a .48½
Lamp chimneys, A Sun, each.....	.05 to .10	.05 to .10	a .05	a .05	a .05

a Prices in Liverpool. Manchester prices not quoted.

With the sole exception of the farming interest, no one matter is of such vital moment to our whole people as the welfare of the wage-workers. If the farmer and the wage-worker are well off, it is absolutely certain that all others will be well off too. It is, therefore, a matter for hearty congratulation that on the whole wages are higher to-day in the United States than ever before in our history, and far higher than in any other country. The standard of living is also higher than ever before. Every effort of legislator and administrator should be bent to secure the permanency of this condition of things and its improvement wherever possible.—President Roosevelt in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

Very great good has been and will be accomplished by associations or unions of wage-workers, when managed with forethought, and when they combine insistence upon their own rights with law-abiding respect for the rights of others. The dis-

play of these qualities in such bodies is a duty to the nation no less than to the associations themselves.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

Our first duty is to see that the protection granted by the tariff in every case where it is needed is maintained, and that reciprocity be sought for so far as it can safely be done without injury to our home industries. The well-being of the wage-worker is a prime consideration of our entire policy of economic legislation. It is discreditable to us as a nation that our merchant marine should be utterly insignificant in comparison to that of other nations which we overtop in other forms of business. We should not longer submit to conditions under which only a trifling portion of our great commerce is carried in our own ships.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

Average wage rates in St. Louis, Mo., and Manchester, England, in 1889 and 1891.

[From Bulletin No. 18, United States Department of Labor.]

Occupation.	Average daily wage rates, St. Louis, Mo.		Average daily wage rates, Manchester, England.	
	1889.	1891.	1889.	1891.
Blacksmiths	\$2.63	\$2.63½	\$1.29¼	\$1.38
Blacksmiths and helpers	1.43	1.45	.81¼	.85¼
Bricklayers	4.40	4.40	1.56¼	1.65¼
Cabinet makers	2.60¾	2.60¾	1.37¼	1.37¼
Carpenters	2.40	3.18	1.47¼	1.49½
Compositors	2.88	2.88	1.42	1.42
Iron molders	2.35	2.50	1.54¼	1.54¼
Machinists	2.52¾	2.47	1.38	1.42
Painters, house	2.42¾	2.43¼	1.29¼	1.43
Pattern makers, iron works	2.61¼	2.60¼	1.54¼	1.54¼

ADVANTAGES OF AMERICAN LABOR.

A great deal has been written and said about the superior advantages which American labor holds over the labor of other countries. In August, 1901, a wealthy Scotch manufacturing firm sent a delegation of workmen to the United States to investigate practical conditions and compare them with British conditions of labor and wages. There were twelve men in the party, selected by popular vote from their fellow-workmen in the shops, and representing the following trades: Pottery, painting, decorating, upholstery and woodwork, engineering, railways, building, mining, textile working, metallurgy, coach building, and electricity.

The delegation visited Pittsburg, Cleveland, Buffalo, New York, Paterson, Fall River, Trenton, Philadelphia, East Liverpool, Ohio, and Niagara, crossing over into Canada.

The report made when they returned, after a thorough investigation of the practical features of the artisan's life, was very complimentary to the American mechanic and artisan, and showed that under the beneficent economic policies which now prevail in this country the American workingman enjoys many advantages over his neighbor across the water.

They reported that the ordinary craftsman received more cash in return for his labor in the United States, and thus could command many and more varied luxuries than his British cousin, but, at the same time, he has to pay far more for these luxuries than he would on the other side of the Atlantic. A frugal American artisan, however, has it within his power to save money, which is denied his British rival. The very fact that the American receives more money in hand at the week's end gives him this opportunity to save, because the British workman seldom receives the same

amount, and, therefore, is denied any opportunity of hoarding the needful for a rainy day.

The delegation reported that the United States will not only provide for its own wants in the near future, but will be, in addition, able to supply a great portion of the wants of the civilized world.

During the past thirty years it has been noted that in textile fabrics alone America has gone to the front, and in the flax, silk, hemp, and similar industries the Americans can now hold their own. The trade of India and Scotland, to a large extent, still depends on the buyers in the United States, but year after year it is becoming more evident that the buyer will not only produce his own goods but will quote to the merchant who was originally a seller. In such a commodity as binder twine, for instance, it is not a great number of years since the American farmer used British-made twines. Now the British market is overrun with the American production, thus reversing the former order of things.

Wages in America total far more as compared with British pay. This increase may be placed at one-half to two-thirds more than is earned in England and Scotland. The men from whom this was learned were mechanics, factory workers, dyers, stonecutters, and various other trades.

The delegation reported that not in a single instance did they find the American workman paid lower wages than the British workman.

The delegation reported that the climatic conditions of America to a certain extent favor the workingman and the workingman's wife. Looking back upon the pottery district of Trenton, and even in the larger city of Philadelphia, it was with pleasing satisfaction they noted the evening promenade of the sexes. Hatless the ladies came; coatless, often, were the gentlemen. The ladies' dresses of light material, minus gloves, and even with arms bare, carried a comforting look under the cloudless skies. The houses of the working classes were enticing externally, and the inside arrangements far ahead of workingmen's houses in England or Scotland.

They visited Paterson, N. J., and studied the textile industry. Here they learned that the all-important item of wages shaded British pay bills, and that even women gained almost as much hard cash within the walls of a Paterson factory as males do in England. It was intensely gratifying to them to note that female labor was assessed at greater value than it is abroad, and as it should be in a great many instances where it certainly is not.

They reported that for one tipsy man in America they would see twenty in England. They did not see half a dozen tipsy men on the continent, and in Glasgow, say, during the same time, they would have been able to view a hundred.

EXCHANGE VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS.

PRICES OF RAW MATERIALS COMPARED WITH PRICES OF MANUFACTURED ARTICLES, 1896 AND 1901.

During the last few years, when prices in general have advanced, it is interesting to determine in what degree the producer of the farm products has been benefited by the rise.

The table which follows has been prepared from official figures recently published, and shows the per cent of advance in 1901 as compared with 1896, the commodities being grouped as in the original source. The comparisons are between wholesale prices, as in the language of the original report "They are more sensitive than retail prices and more quickly reflect changes in conditions."

Comparing 1901 with 1896, farm products show an advance of 49.30 per cent, that is for every \$100 received from the sale of farm products in 1896 the farmer received in 1901 \$149.30 for the same quantity.

Food, etc., advanced 26.37 per cent; cloths and clothing 10.62 per cent; fuel and lighting 14.57 per cent, etc. It is seen that the advance in farm products has been from two to four times as great as the advance in any of the other groups.

The purchasing power of farm products in 1901 increased materially over 1896. The same quantity of farm products would purchase in 1901 18.15 per cent more food than in 1896. It would also purchase 34.97 per cent more cloths and clothing; 30.31 per cent more of the articles included in the group, fuel and lighting; 25.02 per cent more metals and implements; 19.49 per cent more lumber and building materials; 20.01 per cent more drugs and chemicals; 26.55 per cent more house furnishing goods; and 27.05 per cent more of the articles included in the miscellaneous group.

This shows that no one has been benefited by the advance in prices as much as has the farmer; that in 1901 the price of farm products was 49.30 per cent, or almost one-half greater than in 1896; that even when the advance in price of articles is considered, the purchasing power of farm products in 1901 was, compared with other groups of articles, from 18.15 per cent to 34.97 per cent greater than in 1896.

to imperial designs lurk in the American mind. They are in to American sentiment, thought, and purpose. Our priceless principles undergo no change under a tropical sun. They go with flag.—President McKinley at Boston, February 16, 1899.

The following table shows the comparisons:

Comparative advance in the price of farm products and other groups of commodities, 1901 compared with 1896.

[Compiled from Bulletin No. 89, United States Department of Labor.]

Group.	Advance.	Purchasing power.
	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Farm product	40.50	.....
Food, etc.	26.37	18.15
Cloths and clothing.....	10.62	34.97
Fuel and lighting	14.57	80.31
Metals and implements.....	19.42	25.02
Lumber and building materials.....	24.95	19.49
Drugs and chemicals.....	24.41	20.01
House furnishing goods.....	17.98	26.55
Miscellaneous articles.....	17.51	27.05
All commodities.....	20.02	24.40

It is interesting to notice in the tables which follow the comparative advance in the price of certain related commodities. The average price in 1901 has been compared with the average price in 1896. In practically every case the raw material advanced more than the finished products.

The first table shows that live cattle advanced 32.05 per cent, while fresh beef advanced but 12.82 per cent; beef hams 27.81 per cent, and mess beef 24.12 per cent, an average advance of 21.58 per cent for beef products, which the wage-earner must buy, against 32.05 per cent for cattle, which the farmer has to sell. From this it is plainly seen that the advance is benefiting the proper ones—that is, the farmers. *With the same weight of live cattle 17.04 per cent more fresh beef or 8.61 per cent more beef products could be purchased in 1901 than in 1896.*

Hogs advanced 71.78 per cent, bacon 80.98 per cent, hams 13.99 per cent, and mess pork 74.74 per cent. An average advance for bacon, hams, and mess pork of 56.57 per cent, against 71.78 per cent for live hogs. Again the profit is easily traced to the stock raiser and feeder. *With the same weight of live hogs 9.71 per cent more products could be bought in 1901 than in 1896.*

Sheep which the farmer sells advanced 16.90 per cent, mutton which the workingman buys advanced but 7.96 per cent. *With the same weight of sheep 8.28 per cent more mutton could be purchased in 1901 than in 1896.*

Corn advanced 92.63 per cent, while corn meal advanced but 49.22 per cent. *With the same quantity of corn 29.09 per cent more corn meal could be purchased in 1901 than in 1896.*

Wheat which the farmer raises advanced 12.06 per cent, while wheat flour for everybody's use declined 4.17 per cent. *That is, with the same quantity of wheat 16.94 per cent more flour could be purchased in 1901 than in 1896.*

Raw cotton advanced 8.92 per cent, cotton bags 10.26 per cent, calico declined 4.74 per cent, cotton flannels advanced 1.60 per cent, cotton thread 20.58 per cent, cotton yarns 5.70 per cent, denims 5.92 per cent, drillings 2 per cent, gingham 4.89 per cent, cotton hosiery declined 5.08 per cent, print cloths advanced 9.24 per cent, sheetings 4.52 per cent, shirtings 1.02 per cent, and tickings declined 0.52 per cent. The average advance for cotton goods being but 4.26 per cent, against 8.92 per cent for the raw cotton. *With the same quantity of raw cotton 4.47 per cent more manufactured cotton goods could be purchased in 1901 than in 1896.*

Wool shows an advance of 36.83 per cent, blankets (all wool) 13.33 per cent, broadcloths 38.39 per cent, carpets 12.97 per cent, flannels 18.03 per cent, horse blankets (all wool) 21.04 per cent, overcoatings (all wool) 21.45 per cent, shawls 20.09 per cent, suitings 19.48 per cent, underwear (all wool) 8.31 per cent, women's dress goods (all wool) 45.61 per cent, and worsted yarns 40.19 per cent. An average advance for woolen goods of 23.54 per cent, while the raw material—wool—advanced 36.83 per cent. *Or with the same quantity of wool 10.76 per cent more manufactured woolen goods could be bought in 1901 than in 1896.*

The table follows:

Comparative advance in price of certain related commodities, 1901 compared with 1896.

[Compiled from Bulletin 39, United States Department of Labor.]

	<i>Per cent.</i>
Cattle.....	82.05
Fresh beef.....	12.82
Beef hams.....	27.81
Mess beef.....	24.12
Average for beef.....	21.58
Hogs.....	71.78
Bacon.....	80.98
Hams, smoked.....	18.99
Mess pork.....	74.74
Average for bacon, hams, and mess pork.....	56.57
Sheep.....	16.90
Mutton.....	7.96
Corn.....	92.63
Corn meal.....	49.22
Wheat.....	12.06
Wheat flour.....	a 4.17

a Decline.

	<i>Per cent.</i>
Cotton—Upland Middling	8.92
Cotton bags.....	10.28
Calico.....	<i>a</i> 4.74
Cotton flannels.....	1.60
Cotton thread.....	20.58
Cotton yarns.....	5.70
Denims.....	5.92
Drillings.....	2.00
Ginghams.....	4.89
Hosiery (cotton).....	<i>a</i> 5.08
Print cloths.....	9.24
Sheetings.....	4.52
Shirtings.....	1.02
Tickings.....	<i>a</i> .52
Average for cotton goods.....	4.26
Wool.....	36.83
Blankets (all wool).....	13.33
Broadcloths.....	38.30
Carpets.....	12.07
Flannels.....	18.03
Horse blankets (all wool).....	21.04
Overcoatings (all wool).....	21.45
Shawls.....	20.00
Suitings.....	19.48
Underwear (all wool).....	8.31
Women's dress goods (all wool).....	45.61
Worsted yarns.....	40.19
Average for woolen goods.....	23.54
<i>a</i> Decline.	

MARKET VALUE OF FARM PRODUCTS IN 1896 AND 1901 WHEN MEASURED BY THE WHOLESALE PRICES OF STAPLE ARTICLES.

The farmer and stock raiser measures the value of his grain and stock not only by the amount of money he will receive per bushel or per 100 pounds, but also by the value of such articles as he must buy for use by his family or on the farm.

No official retail prices have been published for recent years, but the United States Department of Labor in its bulletin for March, 1902, published wholesale prices of the staple articles in general use. From this publication the following tables have been prepared, showing the value of corn, cattle, hogs, and dairy butter in 1896 and 1901, when measured by the value of other staple articles which the farmer must buy.

While these figures do not represent the actual purchasing power (as all the prices are wholesale), yet the figures shown for the two years, 1896 and 1901, are in practically the same proportion as retail prices would show.

Wheat in 1901 was 12.06 per cent higher than in 1896. Cotton in 1901 was 8.92 per cent higher than in 1896.

According to the reports of the Agricultural Department the corn crop is the most important farm product. The farm value of the 1900 corn crop was \$177,323,523 greater than the combined farm values of wheat, oats, rye, barley, and buckwheat, and even with the short corn crop in 1901 the farm value of corn was \$85,408,612 greater than the combined farm values of wheat, oats, rye, barley, and buckwheat. The census office shows the commercial value of the 1900 cotton crop as \$515,828,431. The farm value of the 1900 corn crop lacked but \$88,123,574 of equaling the combined value of the cotton and wheat crops of the same year.

Ten bushels of corn in 1896 was equal in value to 20.9 pounds of Rio coffee, while in 1901 it was equal to 76.9 pounds, or almost four times as much. In 1896 10 bushels of corn was equal in value to 56.9 pounds of granulated sugar, in 1901 equal to 98.4 pounds; in 1896 equal to 49.1 yards of calico, in 1901 to 99.4 yards; in 1896 equal to 54.7 yards of gingham, in 1901 to 101.4 yards; in 1896 to 41.5 yards of Indian Head sheetings, in 1901 to 78.7 yards; in 1896 to 37.1 yards of Fruit of the Loom shirtings, in 1901 to 66.3 yards; in 1896 to 19 bushels of stove coal (anthracite), in 1901 to 32.2 bushels; in 1896 to 24.8 gallons of refined petroleum, in 1901 to 45.3 gallons; in 1896 to 95 pounds of 8-penny cut nails, in 1901 to 235 pounds; in 1896 to 88 pounds of 8-penny wire nails, in 1901 to 210 pounds. It must be borne in mind that these values are based on the average yearly prices of these articles and that comparatively little of the corn crop of 1901 reached the market before December, 1901. The prices for 1901 are largely for the big crop of 1900—2,105,102,000 bushels with a farm value of \$751,220,000. The corn crop of 1901 was 1,552,519,891 bushels and the farm value \$921,555,768.

The comparative values of cattle, hogs, and dairy butter presented in the tables which follow show wonderful increases and the exchange values of corn, cattle, and hogs during the present year are much greater than during 1901.

The tables are as follows:

But it is not possible ever to insure prosperity merely by law. Something for good can be done by law, and bad laws can do an infinity of mischief; but, after all, the best law can only prevent wrong and injustice and give to the thrifty, the far-seeing, and the hard-working a chance to exercise to the best advantage their especial and peculiar abilities.—Theodore Roosevelt, at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

Value of 10 bushels of corn in 1896 and 1901 when measured by the wholesale prices of the following staple articles.

[Compiled from Bulletin No. 89, United States Department of Labor.]

Article.	1896.	1901.
Coffee, Rio, No. 7.....pounds..	20.9	76.9
Sugar, granulated.....do...	56.9	98.4
Tea, Formosa, fine.....do...	10.0	17.4
Shoes, men's calf bal. Goodyear welt.....pairs..	(a)	(b)
Shoes, women's solid grain.....do...	(c)	(d)
Calico, Cochecho prints.....yards..	49.1	99.4
Denims, Amoskeag.....do...	28.1	47.5
Drillings, brown, Pepperell.....do...	45.0	84.9
Ginghams, Amoskeag.....do...	54.7	101.4
Hosiery, men's cotton half hose, 160 needles.....pairs..	37	87
Overcoatings, chinchilla, cotton-warp, C. C. grade.....yards..	5.9	11.2
Sheetings, bleached, 10-4, Atlantic.....do...	15.2	26.8
Sheetings, brown, 4-4 Indian head.....do...	41.5	78.7
Sheetings, bleached, 4-4, Fruit-of-the-Loom.....do...	37.1	66.8
Suitings, indigo blue, all wool, 54-inch, Middlesex.....do...	2.3	4.2
Tickings, Amoskeag, A. C. A.....do...	25.3	49.1
Women's dress goods, cashmere, cotton-warp, 22-inch, Ham- ilton.....yards..	36.3	65.4
Coal, anthracite, stove.....bushels	19.0	32.2
Petroleum, refined, 150° test.....gallons	24.3	45.3
Nails, cut, 8-penny, fence and common.....pounds	95	235
Nails, wire, 8-penny, fence and common.....do...	88	210
Carbonate of lead (white lead), American, in oil.....do...	49.9	86.3
Cement, Portland, American.....barrels	1.3	2.6
Plate glass, area, 3 to 5 square feet.....square feet..	7.6	15.5
Glassware, tumblers, ¼-pint, common.....do...	172	331
a 1 and 18 cents over. b 2 and 37 cents over.		
c 3 and 3 cents over. d 5 and 70 cents over.		

Value of cattle (good to extra steers) per 100 pounds in 1896 and 1901 when measured by the wholesale prices of the following staple articles.

[Compiled from Bulletin No. 89, United States Department of Labor.]

Articles.	1896.	1901.
Coffee, Rio, No. 7.....pounds..	36.0	90.6
Sugar, granulated.....do...	97.8	116.0
Tea, Formosa, fine.....do...	17.2	20.5
Shoes, men's calf bal. Goodyear welt.....pairs..	(a)	(b)
Shoes, women's solid grain.....do...	(c)	(d)
Calico, Cochecho prints.....yards..	84.4	117.1
Denims, Amoskeag.....do...	44.9	56.0
Drillings, brown, Pepperell.....do...	77.4	100.1
Ginghams, Amoskeag.....do...	93.9	119.5
Hosiery, men's cotton half hose, 160 needles.....pairs..	64	102
Overcoatings, chinchilla, cotton-warp, C. C. grade.....yards..	10.2	13.2
Sheetings, bleached, 10-4, Atlantic.....do...	26.1	31.6
Sheetings, brown, 4-4, Indian head.....do...	71.3	92.8
Shirtings, bleached, 4-4, Fruit-of-the-Loom.....do...	63.7	78.1
Suitings, indigo blue, all wool, 54-inch, Middlesex.....do...	3.9	4.9
Tickings, Amoskeag, A. C. A.....do...	43.5	57.3
Women's dress goods, cashmere, cotton-warp, 22-inch, Ham- ilton.....yards..	62.4	77.1
Coal, anthracite, stove.....bushel	32.7	37.9
Petroleum, refined, 150° test.....gallons	42.7	53.4
Nails, cut, 8-penny, fence and common.....pounds	163	277
Nails, wire, 8-penny, fence and common.....do...	152	248
Carbonate of lead (white lead), American, in oil.....do...	85.8	101.7
Cement, Portland, American.....barrels	2.2	3.1
Plate glass, area, 3 to 5 square feet.....square feet..	13.0	18.3
Glassware, tumblers, ¼-pint, common.....do...	296	390
a 1 and \$2.03 over. b 2 and \$1.26 over.		
c 5 and 18 cents over. d 6 and 73 cents over.		

Value of hogs (heavy) per 100 pounds in 1896 and 1901 when measured by the wholesale prices of the following staple articles.

[Compiled from Bulletin No. 89, United States Department of Labor.]

Article.	1896.	1901.
Coffee, Rio, No. 7.....pounds..	27.2	92.2
Sugar, granulated.....do.....	74.1	118.0
Tea, Formosa, fine.....do.....	13.0	20.9
Shoes, men's calf bal. Goodyear welt.....pairs..	(a)	(b)
Shoes, women's solid grain.....do.....	4	7
Calico, Cocheo prints.....yards..	64.0	119.2
Denims, A moskeag.....do.....	84.0	87.0
Drillings, brown, Pepperell.....do.....	58.6	101.8
Ginghams, A moskeag.....do.....	71.1	121.6
Hosiery, men's cotton half hose, 160 needles.....pairs..	48	104
Overcoatings, chinchilla, cotton-warp, C. C. grade.....yards..	7.7	18.4
Sheetings, bleached, 10-4, Atlantic.....do.....	19.8	32.2
Sheetings, brown, 4-4, Indian head.....do.....	54.0	94.4
Shirtings, bleached, 4-4, Fruit-of-the-Loom.....do.....	48.2	79.4
Suitings, indigo blue, all wool, 54-inch, Middlesex.....do.....	8.0	5.0
Tickings, A moskeag, A. C. A.....do.....	83.0	56.8
Women's dress goods, cashmere, cotton-warp, 22-inch, Ham- ilton.....yards..	47.2	78.4
Coal, anthracite, stove.....bushels..	24.6	38.6
Petroleum, refined, 150° test.....gallons..	82.3	54.4
Nails, cut, 8-penny, fence and common.....pounds..	124	282
Nails, wire, 8-penny, fence and common.....do.....	115	252
Carbonate of lead (white lead), American, in oil.....do.....	64.9	108.4
Cement, Portland, American.....barrels..	1.7	8.2
Plate glass, area, 8 to 5 square feet.....square feet..	9.9	18.6
Glassware, tumblers, 1½-pint, common.....do.....	224	397

a 1 and 96 cents over.

b 2 and \$1.36 over.

Value of 20 pounds of butter (New York State dairy) in 1896 and 1901 when measured by the wholesale prices of the following staple articles.

[Compiled from Bulletin No. 89, United States Department of Labor.]

Article	1896.	1901.
Coffee, Rio, No. 7.....pounds..	27.0	92.1
Sugar, granulated.....do.....	73.5	118.5
Tea, Formosa, fine.....do.....	12.9	(b)
Shoes, men's calf bal. Goodyear welt.....pairs..	(a)	(c)
Shoes, women's solid grain.....do.....	(c)	(d)
Calico, Cocheo prints.....yards..	63.4	80.3
Denims, A moskeag.....do.....	83.7	88.4
Drillings, brown, Pepperell.....do.....	58.1	93.6
Ginghams, A moskeag.....do.....	70.8	81.9
Hosiery, men's cotton half hose, 160 needles.....pairs..	48	70
Overcoatings, chinchilla, cotton-warp, C. C. grade.....yards..	7.6	9.1
Sheetings, bleached, 10-4, Atlantic.....do.....	19.6	21.7
Sheetings, brown, 4-4, Indian head.....do.....	53.5	93.6
Shirtings, bleached, 4-4, Fruit-of-the-Loom.....do.....	47.3	84.5
Suitings, indigo blue, all wool, 54-inch, Middlesex.....do.....	2.9	3.4
Tickings, A. C. A.....do.....	82.7	59.6
Women's dress goods, cashmere, cotton-warp, 22-inch, Ham- ilton.....yards..	46.8	52.8
Coal, anthracite, stove.....bushels..	24.6	38.6
Petroleum, refined, 150° test.....gallons..	82.1	54.4
Nails, cut, 8-penny, fence and common.....pounds..	123	190
Nails, wire, 8-penny, fence and common.....do.....	114	170
Carbonate of lead (white lead), American, in oil.....do.....	64.4	108.7
Cement, Portland, American.....barrels..	1.7	2.1
Plate glass, area, 8 to 5 square feet.....square feet..	9.8	12.5
Glassware, tumblers, 1½-pint, common.....do.....	224	288

a 1 and 96 cents over.
c 3 and 78 cents over.

b 1 and \$1.71 over.
d 4 and 60 cents over

When the comparative value of silver is shown the decrease is remarkable. The value in 1901 is less than in 1896, when measured by 21 of the 25 articles. In 1896 the value of 10 ounces of silver was equal to 150.5 pounds of granulated sugar, in 1901 it was equal to but 118.3 pounds; in 1896 equal to 144.5 yards of gingham, in 1901 to 121.8 yards; in 1896 equal to 109.6 yards of Indian Head sheetings, in 1901 to 94.6 yards; in 1896 equal to 50.3 bushels of stove coal (anthracite), in 1901 to but 38.7 bushels.

The table follows:

Value of 10 ounces of silver (fine bar) in 1896 and 1901 when measured by the wholesale prices of the following staple articles.

[Compiled from Bulletin No. 39, United States Department of Labor.]

Article.	1896.	1901.
Coffee, Rio, No. 7.....pounds..	55.3	92.4
Sugar, granulated.....do.....	150.5	118.3
Tea, Formosa, fine.....do.....	26.4	20.9
Shoes, men's calf bal. Goodyear welt.....pairs..	(a) 8	(b) 7
Shoes, women's solid grain.....do.....	129.9	119.4
Calico, Cochecho prints.....yards..	69.0	57.1
Denims, Amoskeag.....do.....	119.0	102.1
Drillings, brown, Pepperell.....do.....	144.5	121.8
Ginghams, Amoskeag.....do.....	98	104
Hosiery, men's cotton ha f hose, 160 needles.....pairs..	15.7	13.5
Overcoatings, chinchilla, cotton-warp, C. C. grade.....yards..	40.1	32.2
Sheetings, bleached, 10-4, Atlantic.....do.....	109.6	94.6
Sheetings, brown, 4-4, Indian head.....do.....	8.0	79.6
Shirtings, bleached, 4-4, Fruit-of-the-Loom.....do.....	6.0	6.0
Suitings, indigo blue, all wool, 54-inch, Middiesex.....do.....	66.9	58.9
Tickings, Amoskeag, A. C. A.....do.....	95.9	78.6
Women's dress goods, cashmere, cotton-warp, 22-inch, Ham- ilton.....yards..	50.3	38.7
Coal, anthracite, stove.....bushels..	65.6	54.5
Petroleum, refined, 150° test.....gallons..	251	283
Nails, cut, 8-penny, fence and common.....pounds..	233	252
Nails, wire, 8 penny, fence and common.....do.....	131.9	103.7
Carbonate of lead (white lead), American, in oil.....do.....	3.4	3.2
Cement, Portland, American.....barrels..	20.1	18.7
Plate glass, area, 3 to 5 square feet.....square feet..	455	398
Glassware, tumblers, 1/2-pint, common.....do.....		

a 2 and \$2.02 over.

b 2 and \$1.37 over.

It is not a good time for the liberator to submit important questions concerning liberty and government to the liberated while they are engaged in shooting down their rescuers.—President McKinley, at Boston, February 16, 1899.

American wage-workers work with their heads as well as their hands. Moreover, they take a keen pride in what they are doing; so that, independent of the reward, they wish to turn out a perfect job. This is the great secret of our success in competition with the labor of foreign countries.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

THE TRUSTS.

REPUBLICAN EXECUTION OF THE LAW vs. DEMOCRATIC AGITATION TO CREATE PREJUDICE.

Attitude of the Two Parties.—The attitude of the two great parties on the trust question is clearly defined. That of the Democratic party looks to constant agitation, with no restrictive legislation; that of the Republican party to such restriction as will prevent arbitrary advance in prices or reduction in wages through exclusive control, but not the destruction by legislation or injury by fictitious agitation of legitimate enterprise through great manufacturing systems by which production is cheapened, prices of manufacturers reduced, and permanency of employment assured.

As far back as the Fiftieth Congress the Democrats began their agitation for effect by the passage of a resolution authorizing the House Committee on Manufactures to enter upon an investigation of the trusts of the United States. Such distinguished Democratic leaders as Representative Wilson, of West Virginia, Representative Breckinridge, of Arkansas, Representative Bynum, of Indiana, and Representative Bacon, of New York, were members of the committee, and they were given power to administer oaths, examine witnesses, compel the attendance of persons and the production of papers, and make their investigation a thorough one. More than 100 witnesses, including H. A. Havemeyer and Claus Spreckles, of sugar fame, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Flagler, and others of the Standard Oil Company, and representatives of the cotton bagging trust and whisky trust were examined. A thousand pages of testimony were taken, and the committee delayed its report until one day before the expiration of the Congress, when it presented its testimony, but made no recommendation as to legislation, "owing to the present difference of opinion between members of the committee."

In the Fifty-second Congress the House Judiciary Committee made another investigation, and after an examination of many witnesses, submitted a report in which it declared that "None of the methods employed by the trust in controlling the production or disposition of their products are in violation of the United States laws," and that "it is clearly settled that the production or manufacture of that which may become a subject of interstate commerce and ultimately pass into protected trade is not commerce, nor can manufactures of any sort be instruments of commerce within the meaning of the Constitution." In 1894 they again grappled with the trust problem, adding to the Wilson-Gorman tariff law a

series of provisions purporting to authorize the regulation of trusts, but which neither the Democratic President nor the Democratic officials who were in power when the act came into existence made, so far as is known, any attempt to put into operation.

Record of the Republican Party.—The record of the Republican party on this question is consistent, performance following profession. The Republican party from its organization has sought to protect both labor and capital as the two great forces of our civilization. Under the administration of this party these two forces have received protection, and in organization they have been on parallel lines. The greater the development of each the nearer they have come to working in harmony upon scientific wage scales and agreements as to business management.

The trust or corporation is not of Federal origin due to any legislation by Congress or Executive act in the administration of Federal laws. They are all of State origin, incorporated under State laws and beyond national control when confined to those States. The only power the Federal Government has to reach these trusts or corporations is where they cross State lines and touch interstate or foreign commerce. The Republican party has tried to enact laws that would prevent the trusts from interfering with interstate commerce.

William McKinley, as chairman of the Committee on Platform in the National Republican Convention of 1888, reported the first anti-trust resolution that was adopted as a plank in a party platform. That resolution was as follows:

"We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the conditions of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the State legislatures in their respective jurisdictions, such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies, or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discrimination between the States."

In his first message to the Fifty-first Congress President Harrison, mindful of that plank in his platform, made the following recommendation:

"Earnest attention should be given by Congress to a consideration of the question how far the restraint of these combinations of capital commonly called "trusts" is a matter of Federal jurisdiction. When organized, as they often are, to crush out all healthy competition and to monopolize the production for sale of an article of commerce and general necessity, they are dangerous conspiracies

against the public good, and should be made the subject of prohibitory and even penal legislation."

Sherman Anti-Trust Law.—The first bill introduced in the Senate of the Fifty-first Congress was the anti-trust bill by Senator John Sherman, of Ohio. It declared illegal every combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several States or with foreign nations, and it provided severe penalties. It passed the Republican Senate. When William McKinley, as a member of the Committee on Rules, reported to the House, May 1, 1890, a special rule for the immediate consideration of this anti-trust bill, the Democrats opposed him and voted against the rule. Carlisle of Kentucky, Bland of Missouri, Springer of Illinois, Richardson of Tennessee, McCreary of Kentucky, and Wilson of West Virginia, opposed the rule and the bill as the wrong way to deal with the trusts. Mr. William L. Wilson, who later became the Democratic leader in the House and the author of the Wilson tariff bill, made a long speech in which he said:

"Now, sir, here again is a bill dealing with a novel and most important question, a bill that is a new departure in Federal legislation, bristling with pains and penalties, denouncing a new class of crimes, and imposing prohibitions and penalties on many acts not now illegal and some perhaps not properly punishable. Here is a bill that may derange the course of trade among the States that will bring doubt and uncertainty in many lines of business, both of production and distribution in the country. * * * A bill seriously affecting the business and prosperity of the country, and, what is more, the rights and liberties of the people. Was ever criminal law made in this fashion before? And who are to be the first victims that must be fined and sent to the penitentiary, in order that the courts may interpret and declare what are the crimes which we punish but do not define. * * * The States, not Congress, grant the charters for these corporations. It is at once their duty, as it is easily and clearly within the sphere of their lawful power, to supervise the creatures which they bring into being, so as to prevent the franchises granted by the people being used for the oppression and detriment of the people."

Mr. Wilson then proceeded to argue that free trade was the only means by which the Federal Government could deal with the trusts. That was the position of the Democrats in the Fifty-first Congress which passed the Sherman anti-trust bill and made it a law. The Democrats did not vote against the bill, but they did everything possible to prevent its consideration. The bill finally passed both branches of Congress, which were Republican, and was signed by President Harrison, July 2, 1890. It is a law placed on

the statute books by the Republican party. It was a new departure, but the Republican party has made many new departures when necessary. The Harrison Administration enforced this law.

Action Under the Law.—The first case brought was in October, 1890, against the Jellico Mountain Coal and Coke Company in Kentucky. The owners of Kentucky coal mines and the coal dealers in Nashville, Tenn., formed a combination whereby the Nashville dealers should sell coal at the same price to be fixed by the combination. The United States brought suit under the trust act. At the final hearing the defendants were enjoined. The Cleveland Administration did not have remarkable success in presenting the trusts under this law. The three conspicuous decisions were against labor organizations, not against combinations of capital. These were against the employees and draymen in New Orleans who refused to handle goods for the warehousemen of that city; against the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, declaring a section of their rules in violation of the trust act, and in the Debs case declaring that combinations of labor in restraint of trade is forbidden by the trust act. The Cleveland Administration failed to restrain any combination of capital by use of this law. President Cleveland in his last annual message to Congress expressed the opinion that the Federal Government could not suppress the evils of trusts, and he looked to the State legislatures for the only possible relief.

McKinley's Recommendation.—President McKinley had the tariff to deal with in his first message, and the Cuban question in his next. But in his first message to the Fifty-sixth Congress he took up the trust question and discussed it at length. He made this pointed and forcible recommendation:

"It is universally conceded that combinations which engross or control the market of any particular kind of merchandise or commodity necessary to the general community, by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, whereby prices are unduly enhanced to the general consumer, are obnoxious not only to the common law but also to the public welfare. There must be a remedy for the evils involved in such organizations. If the present law can be extended more certainly to control or check these monopolies or trusts, it should be done without delay. Whatever power Congress possesses over this most important subject should be promptly ascertained and asserted."

Proposed Republican Legislation.—Two measures were proposed by the Republicans of the Fifty-sixth Congress. The first was an amendment to the Constitution. It was as follows:

"SECTION 1. All powers conferred by this article shall extend to the several States, the Territories, the District of Columbia, and

all territories under the sovereignty and subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to define, regulate, control, prohibit, or dissolve trusts, monopolies, or combinations, whether existing in the form of a corporation or otherwise.

"The several States may continue to exercise such power in any manner not in conflict with the laws of the United States.

"SEC. 3. Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation."

Democratic Opposition.—That joint resolution for an amendment to the Constitution was reported to the House from the Committee on Judiciary May 21, 1900, and Mr. Richardson, of Tennessee, the Democratic leader, objected to its consideration. May 31 the Committee on Rules reported a rule for the immediate consideration of the resolution, the debate to continue through the day and the vote to be taken June 1. All the Democrats voted against the adoption of the rule. It was adopted by Republican votes, and in the debate the Democratic leaders like Bailey of Texas, Richardson of Tennessee, and others, spoke against the proposed amendment. The Democrats voted against it on the roll call and it failed to pass because there was not the necessary two-thirds vote of the House to pass a constitutional amendment. The vote was 154 yeas, 132 nays, 11 answered "present," and 56 not voting. The vote was as follows:

Yeas—Adams, Aldrich, Alexander, Allen (Me.), Babcock, Bailey (Kans.), Baker, Barney, Bartholdt, Bingham, Bishop, Boering, Boutell (Ill.), Bowersock, Brick, Brosius, Brown, Burke (S. Dak.), Burkett, Burleigh, Burton, Butler, Calderhead, Campbell, Cannon, Clarke (N. H.), Cochrane (N. Y.), Connell, Cooper (Wis.), Corliss, Cousins, Cromer, Crumpacker, Curtis, Cushman, Dahle (Wis.), Daltzell, Davenport S. A., Davidson, Dick, Dolliver, Eddy, Emerson, Esch, Faris, Fletcher, Foss, Fowler, Freer, Gardner (Mich.), Gardner (N. J.), Gibson, Gill, Gillett (N. Y.), Gillett (Mass.), Graff, Graham, Greene (Mass.), Grosvenor, Grout, Hamilton, Haugen, Hawley, Heatwole, Hedge, Hemenway, Henry (Conn.), Hepburn, Hill, H. L. Hofferker, Howell, Hull, Jack, Jones (Wash.), Joy, Kahn, Ketcham, Knox, Lacey, Lane, Lawrence, Littlefield, Long, Lorimer, Loudenslager, Lovering, Lybrand, McCleary, McPherson, Marsh, Mercer, Mesick, Metcalf, Miller, Minor, Mondell, Moody (Mass.), Moody (Oreg.), Morgan, Mudd, Naphen, Needham, Newlands, O'Grady, Olmsted, Otjen, Overstreet, Parker (N. J.), Payne, Pearce (Mo.), Pearce, Phillips, Prince, Pugh, Ray (N. Y.), Reeder, Reeves, Roberts, Redenberg, Russell, Scudder, Shattuc, Shelden, Sherman, Showalter, Sibley, Smith, H. C. Smith, Samuel W., Spalding, Sperry, Steele, Stevens (Minn.), Stewart (N. Y.), Stewart,

(Wis.), Sulloway, Tawney, Tayler (Ohio), Thayer, Thomas (Iowa), Thropp, Tongue, Van Vorhis, Wachter, Wadsworth, Wanger, Warner, Waters, Watson, Weeks, Wise, Wright, Young, The Speaker.

(One Democrat, Campbell of Montana, and Mr. Newlands, the Silver Republican of Nevada, voted with the Republicans.)

Nays—Adamson, Allen (Ky.), Bailey (Texas), Ball, Barber, Bartlett, Bell, Bellamy, Benton, Bradley, Brantley, Breazeale, Brenner, Brewer, Brundidge, Burleson, Burnett, Caldwell, Candler, Clark, (Mo.), Clayton (Ala.), Clayton (N. Y.), Cochran (Mo.), Cooney, Cooper (Texas), Cowherd, Cox, Crowley, Cummings, Davenport, S. W., Davis, DeArmond, DeGraffenreid, DeVries, Denny, Dinsmore, Dougherty, Driggs, Elliott, Finley, Fitzgerald (Mass.), Fitzgerald (N. Y.), Fitzpatrick, Fleming, Foster, Gaines, Gaston, Gilbert, Glynn, Gordon, Green (Pa.), Griffith, Griggs, Hall, Hay, Henry (Miss.), Henry (Texas), Howard, Jett, Johnston, Jones (Va.), King, Kitchin, Kleberg, Kluttz, Lamb, Lanham, Lassiter, Latimer, Lentz, Lester, Levy, Lewis, Little, Livingston, Lloyd, Loud, McCall, McClennan, McLain, McRae, Maddox, May, Meekison, Meyer (La.), Miers (Ind.), Moon, Muller, Neville, Noonan, Otey, Pierce (Tenn.), Quarles, Ransdell, Rhea (Ky), Rhea (Va.), Richardson, Ridgeley, Riordan, Rixey, Robinson (Ind.), Robinson (Nebr.), Rucker, Ryan (N. Y.), Shafroth, Sheppard, Sims, Smith (Ky.), Snodgrass, Spight, Stallings, Stark, Stephens (Texas), Stokes, Sulzer, Sutherland, Swanson, Talbert, Tate, Taylor (Ala.), Terry, Thomas (N. C.), Underhill, Underwood, Wheeler (Ky.), Williams, J. R., Williams, W. E. Williams (Miss.), Wilson (Idaho), Wilson (N. Y.), Zenor, Ziegler.

(Mr. Loud, of California, and McCall, of Massachusetts, were the only Republicans who voted with the Democrats.)

Roosevelt on Trusts.—President Roosevelt's discussion of the trust question in his first message to the Fifty-seventh Congress was conservative, but fearless. He did not arraign the trusts as wholly bad, but conceded that they were a part of the industrial development of this country as they were of the industrial development throughout the civilized world. He said:

"The tremendous and highly complex industrial development which went on with ever accelerated rapidity during the latter half of the nineteenth century brings us face to face, at the beginning of the twentieth, with very serious social problems. The old laws, and the old customs which had almost the binding force of law, were once quite sufficient to regulate the accumulation and distribution of wealth. Since the industrial changes which have so enormously increased the productive power of mankind, they are no longer sufficient.

"The growth of cities has gone on beyond comparison faster

than the growth of the country, and the upbuilding of the great industrial centers has meant a startling increase, not merely in the aggregate of wealth, but in the number of very large individual, and especially of very large corporate, fortunes. The creation of these great corporate fortunes has not been due to the tariff, not to any other governmental action, but to natural causes in the business world, operating in other countries as they operate in our own.

"The process has aroused much antagonism, a great part of which is wholly without warrant. It is not true that as the rich have grown richer the poor have grown poorer. On the contrary, never before has the average man, the wage-worker, the farmer, the small trader, been so well off as in this country and at the present time. There have been abuses connected with the accumulation of wealth; yet it remains true that a fortune accumulated in legitimate business can be accumulated by the person specially benefited only on condition of conferring immense incidental benefits upon others. Successful enterprise, of the type which benefits all mankind, can only exist if the conditions are such as to offer great prizes as the rewards of success.

The Captains of Industry.—"The captains of industry, who have driven the railway systems across this continent, who have built up our commerce, who have developed our manufactures, have on the whole done great good to our people. Without them the material development of which we are so justly proud could never have taken place. Moreover, we should recognize the immense importance to this material development of leaving as unhampered as is compatible with the public good the strong and forceful men upon whom the success of business operations inevitably rests. The slightest study of business conditions will satisfy anyone capable of forming a judgment that the personal equation is the most important factor in a business operation; that the business ability of the man at the head of any business concern, big or little, is usually the factor which fixes the gulf between striking success and hopeless failure.

"An additional reason for caution in dealing with corporations is to be found in the international commercial conditions of to-day. The same business conditions which have produced the great aggregations of corporate and individual wealth have made them very potent factors in international commercial competition. Business concerns which have the largest means at their disposal and are managed by the ablest men are naturally those which take the lead in the strife for commercial supremacy among the nations of the world. America has only just begun to assume that commanding position in the international business world

which we believe will more and more be hers. It is of the utmost importance that this position be not jeopardized, especially at a time when the overflowing abundance of our own natural resources and the skill, business energy, and mechanical aptitude of our people make foreign markets essential. Under such conditions it would be most unwise to cramp or to fetter the youthful strength of our nation.

Rule of National Life.—"Moreover, it cannot too often be pointed out that to strike with ignorant violence at the interests of one set of men almost inevitably endangers the interests of all. The fundamental rule in our national life—the rule which underlies all others—is that, on the whole, and in the long run, we shall go up or down together. There are exceptions, and in times of prosperity some will prosper far more, and in times of adversity some will suffer far more, than others; but speaking generally, a period of good times means that all share more or less in them, and in a period of hard times all feel the stress to a greater or less degree. It surely ought not to be necessary to enter into any proof of this statement; the memory of the lean years which began in 1893 is still vivid, and we can contrast them with the conditions in this very year which is now closing. Disaster to great business enterprises can never have its effects limited to the men at the top. It spreads throughout, and while it is bad for everybody, it is worst for those farthest down. The capitalist may be shorn of his luxuries; but the wage-worker may be deprived of even bare necessities.

"The mechanism of modern business is so delicate that extreme care must be taken not to interfere with it in a spirit of rashness or ignorance. Many of those who have made it their vocation to denounce the great industrial combinations which are popularly, although with technical inaccuracy, known as "trusts," appeal especially to hatred and fear. These are precisely the two emotions, particularly when combined with ignorance, which unfit men for the exercise of cool and steady judgment. In facing new industrial conditions, the whole history of the world shows that legislation will generally be both unwise and ineffective unless undertaken after calm inquiry and with sober self-restraint. Much of the legislation directed at the trusts would have been exceedingly mischievous had it not also been entirely ineffective. In accordance with a well-known sociological law, the ignorant or reckless agitator has been the really effective friend of the evils which he has been nominally opposing. In dealing with business interests, for the Government to undertake by crude and ill-considered legislation to do what may turn out to be bad, would be to incur the risk of such far-reaching national disaster that it would be preferable to undertake nothing at all. The men who demand

the impossible or the undesirable serve as the allies of the forces with which they are nominally at war, for they hamper those who would endeavor to find out in rational fashion what the wrongs really are and to what extent and in what manner it is practicable to apply remedies.

Evil of Over-Capitalization.--"All this is true, and yet it is also true that there are real and grave evils, one of the chief being over-capitalization, because of its many baleful consequences, and a resolute and practical effort must be made to correct these evils.

"There is a widespread conviction in the minds of the American people that the great corporations known as 'trusts' are in certain of their features and tendencies hurtful to the general welfare. This springs from no spirit of envy or uncharitableness, nor lack of pride in the great industrial achievements that have placed this country at the head of the nations struggling for commercial supremacy. It does not rest upon a lack of intelligent appreciation of the necessity of meeting changing and changed conditions of trade with new methods, nor upon ignorance of the fact that combination of capital in the effort to accomplish great things is necessary when the world's progress demands that great things be done. It is based upon sincere conviction that combination and concentration should be, not prohibited, but supervised and within reasonable limits controlled; and in my judgment this conviction is right.

"It is no limitation upon property rights or freedom of contract to require that when men receive from Government the privilege of doing business under corporate form, which frees them from individual responsibility, and enables them to call into their enterprises the capital of the public, they shall do so upon absolutely truthful representations as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be invested. Corporations engaged in interstate commerce should be regulated if they are found to exercise a license working to the public injury. It should be as much the aim of those who seek for social betterment to rid the business world of crimes of cunning as to rid the entire body politic of crimes of violence. Great corporations exist only because they are created and safeguarded by our institutions; and it is therefore our right and our duty to see that they work in harmony with these institutions."

THE SHARE OF TRUSTS IS SMALL.

The trusts have not occupied as great a place in the manufacturing industries as they have in public discussion. According to the returns of the Census for 1900 the value of trust-made articles

was only 12.8 per cent of the total output of the manufacturing establishments in that year. The value of the total output of all manufacturing establishments in the census year was \$13,004,400,143, while the value of the output of the trusts was \$1,667,350,941, or 12.8 per cent of the whole.

The Director of the Census in collecting these statistics included all corporations organized in recent years by combination or consolidation under a single corporate management of a number of plants engaged in the same line of industry. The list contains 183 corporations, controlling 2,029 different manufactories that were active during the census year, and also 174 that were idle at that time. Sixty-three of these were organized prior to the year 1897 and 92 were chartered during the eighteen months between January 1, 1899, and June 30, 1900. The largest of these was the United States Steel Corporation, with \$1,005,351,740 capital stock and bonds. The total outstanding and authorized capitalization of the 183 corporations included in the list was as follows:

	Authorized.	Issued.
Bonds.....	\$270,127,250	\$216,412,759
Preferred stock.....	1,259,540,800	1,066,525,963
Common stock.....	2,077,871,050	1,802,262,146
Total.....	3,607,539,200	3,085,200,868

The Census Office has fixed the true value of the capital invested by the 183 trusts in their active and idle plants at \$1,458,522,573, or 47.3 per cent of the total bonds and capital stock issued, and \$175,583,851 more than the amount of bonds and preferred stock issued.

The most interesting feature of the inquiry by the Census Office is the proportion of the industrial products of the country produced by the trusts. Of course the most important item to be considered in this connection is the public food supply. The inquiry embraced every branch of that industry in which labor is a factor after the product has reached a marketable condition. Purely agricultural supplies were not included; neither grains, vegetables, nor meats in their natural state; but from the Census point of view, a steer becomes a manufactured article when it is slaughtered; a bushel of wheat when it is ground into flour; and fruit and vegetables when they are preserved or otherwise prepared for the market by artificial means. The results of the inquiry in this direction will be a surprise, because of a total value of \$2,277,702,010 only \$285,941,066, or 12.06 per cent of the food of the people is controlled by the trusts.

The highest percentage is found in chemicals and allied industries, where the trusts produce 33.4 per cent of the total; in iron and steel, where they produce 28.4 per cent; in tobacco, where they produce 26.2 per cent; in metals other than iron and steel, 24.1 per cent, and in liquors and beverages, 22 per cent.

It is interesting to know that the drink bill of the United States amounted last year to \$425,504,167, of which \$93,432,274 was paid to the trusts. This includes all wines, beers, liquors, and beverages of every description, "soft" as well as "hard" drinks and mineral waters.

The lumber industry is more free from the control of the trusts than any other. Of a total of \$1,030,906,579 of lumber and its manufactures produced last year, only 2 per cent, or \$20,378,815, was produced by the trusts, and only 4.4 per cent of the textiles. The total value of textiles produced was \$1,637,438,484, and the share of the trusts was \$71,888,802. Paper and printing, leather goods, and clay, glass, and stone products also are comparatively free from the trusts, as they controlled less than 8 per cent of each.

Another very interesting feature of this part of the Census inquiry is the comparative proportion of wage-earners employed by the trusts, the number being only 400,046, or 7.5 per cent of the total number of 5,308,406 wage-earners employed by all the manufacturing establishments in the United States.

The smallest proportion of wage-earners controlled by the trust is found in the lumber trade, where the percentage is very small—only 10,078 out of a total of 546,953. The largest percentage is 28, in the chemical trade.

The following table shows the number of wage-earners employed in the different industries of the United States, and the proportion controlled by the trusts:

	All manufac- tures.	Trusts.	Ratio of trusts.
Food products	\$313,909	\$33,165	10.6
Textiles	1,029,910	87,728	8.7
Iron and steel	733,068	145,609	20.0
Lumber	546,953	10,778	2.0
Leather	288,202	9,898	4.5
Paper and printing	297,551	16,706	5.5
Liquors and beverages	68,072	7,624	12.1
Chemicals	101,522	28,401	28.0
Clay, glass, and stone	244,987	20,294	8.2
Metals, other than iron and steel	180,757	20,522	10.8
Tobacco	142,277	17,661	12.4
Land vehicles	316,214	34,422	10.9
Shipbuilding	46,781	.....	.....
Miscellaneous industries	483,273	17,243	9.4
Hand trades	550,180	.....	.....
Total	5,308,406	400,046	7.5

The following table shows the total amount of wages paid to wage-earners of all classes by manufacturing establishments in the United States during the year 1901, and the proportion paid by trusts:

	All industries.	Trusts.	Ratio of trusts.
Food products	\$129,910,070	\$12,446,866	8.8
Textiles	841,784,899	13,297,357	8.9
Iron and steel	381,875,449	81,096,589	21.2
Lumber	212,201,768	4,938,944	2.1
Leather	96,759,885	4,070,641	4.1
Paper and printing	140,092,453	7,478,962	5.3
Liquors and beverages	86,946,537	4,869,457	13.2
Chemicals	48,870,602	13,214,006	90.1
Clay, glass, and stone	108,022,112	10,994,418	10.1
Metal, other than iron and steel	96,749,051	12,856,772	12.7
Tobacco	40,852,464	5,278,151	10.6
Land vehicles	164,614,781	17,571,613	10.7
Shipbuilding	24,899,169	.....	.....
Miscellaneous	202,746,162	8,056,140	8.6
Hand trades	288,118,421	.....	.....
Total	2,822,388,877	195,122,080	8.8

Yet more and more it is evident that the State, and, if necessary, the nation, has got to possess the right of supervision and control as regards the great corporations which are its creatures; particularly as regards the great business combinations which derive a portion of their importance from the existence of some monopolistic tendency.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

It is no limitation upon property rights or freedom of contract to require that when men receive from Government the privilege of doing business under corporate form, which frees them from individual responsibility, and enables them to call into their enterprises the capital of the public, they shall do so upon absolutely truthful representations as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be invested.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

So much for our duties, each to himself and each to his neighbor, within the limits of our own country. But our country, as it strides forward with ever increasing rapidity to a foremost place among the world powers, must necessarily find, more and more, that it has world duties also. There are excellent people who believe that we can shirk these duties and yet retain our self-respect; but these good people are in error.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

EXECUTING THE ANTI-TRUST LAW.

RECORD OF CASES AND DECISIONS FROM THE COURTS.

The Republican administrations of President McKinley and President Roosevelt have made a good record in their efforts to execute the anti-trust law. There has been no shirking of duty because of the powerful financial influence behind the trusts. There has been no hesitation for fear the law would not prove effective. These two Republican Presidents have recognized no man or corporation as above the law.

The Department of Justice has proceeded against all trusts against which sufficient information could be secured to justify prosecution, but there has been nothing to warrant the charge of persecution to make political capital. The Department of Justice has acted as the attorney for the Government and sought to execute the law enacted by Congress. And it has secured one decision from the Supreme Court sustaining the validity of the law, an important development in itself, and several other most important decisions against some of the most powerful combinations of capital in the country, while other suits have been brought against the Northern Securities Company to enjoin it and prevent the merging of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railroads, and against the Beef Trust in Chicago. These suits are to be tried when the defendants have filed their answers to the complaints made against them.

The following is the record made by the Department of Justice in the courts since the Republican administration of William McKinley began, March 4, 1897:

Joint Traffic Association.—United States *vs.* The Joint Traffic Association (171 U. S., 505).

The Joint Traffic Association was formed by an agreement between thirty-one railroads, comprising nine trunk line systems, operating between Chicago and the Atlantic Seaboard, for the purpose of fixing and maintaining rates and fares between all competitive points within the territory covered by the agreement. The suit was brought in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York, in January, 1896. The Circuit Court decided in favor of the railroads and the Court of Appeals affirmed that decision. Thereupon the Government took an appeal to the Supreme Court. The case was argued in the Supreme Court on

behalf of the Government by Solicitor-General Richards on February 24 and 25, 1898, the case being decided in the October following.

The Supreme Court reversed the judgments of the lower courts and held that the anti-trust law prohibits all agreements in restraint of interstate trade and commerce, whether the restraint be reasonable or unreasonable. The court further held the anti-trust law to be valid, and that Congress has the power to say that a contract or combination shall not be legal which restrains commerce among the several States by preventing the operation of the general law of competition. The court further held that the natural, direct, and necessary effect of all the provisions of the agreement which the companies had entered into was to prevent any competition whatever between the parties to it for the whole time of its existence.

Hopkins vs. The United States (171 U. S., 578).

This suit was brought in December, 1896, in the District Court of the United States for the district of Kansas, against Hopkins and other members of the Kansas City Live Stock Exchange, to obtain a dissolution of the Exchange. The Exchange was an unincorporated volunteer association of men doing business at the stock yards, and formed for the purpose of receiving individually consignments of live stock from the owners in the several States surrounding Kansas City, and for caring for and selling the same. An injunction was granted restraining the operation of the association. The Supreme Court, however, dissolved the injunction for the reasons that the business carried on at the stock yards by the members of the association was not interstate commerce within the meaning of the anti-trust law. Argued February, 1898—decided October, 1898.

Anderson vs. The United States (171 U. S., 604).

This suit was against The Traders' Live Stock Exchange of Kansas City, to compel its dissolution. The association being similar in character to that involved in the Hopkins case, and the business carried on being similar in all respects, the Supreme Court held that such acts were not in violation of the anti-trust law, and the business so carried on was not interstate commerce. The case was argued in February, 1898, and decided in October of that year.

Addyston Pipe Case.—*United States vs. Addyston Pipe and Steel Company* (175 U. S., 211).

This suit was brought on December 10, 1896, in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Eastern District of Tennessee, against the Addyston Pipe and Steel Company of Cincinnati, Ohio, and five

other companies engaged in the manufacture and sale of cast-iron pipe, to restrain the further carrying out an agreement between the six companies to control prices in thirty-six States of the United States by suppressing competition. The Circuit Court, upon hearing, dismissed the complaint. The Government took an appeal to the Court of Appeals, where the judgment of the lower court was, on February 8, 1898, reversed. Thereupon the Pipe Trust carried the case to the Supreme Court, where, on December 4, 1899, the judgment of the Court of Appeals was affirmed, and the several companies were, as to interstate trade and commerce, perpetually enjoined from the further carrying out of their agreement.

This case is important because it is the first in which the Supreme Court has applied the Sherman anti-trust law to an industrial combination or trust. On behalf of the trust it was contended that the power of Congress, under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, does not extend to agreements among private corporations, but is limited to acts of interference by the States and by quasi-public corporations, such as railroads. Private manufacturing corporations, it was insisted, are not public agencies and cannot be compelled to keep their shops running or sell their goods to any person who applies. In the next place, it was urged that there was no restraint put upon interstate commerce and that under the decision in the Knight (sugar) case, the creation of a monopoly in the manufacture of a commodity, however useful, is not prohibited by the anti-trust law.

The Supreme Court held, however, that Congress may prohibit the performance of any contract between individuals or corporations where the natural and direct effect of it is to regulate or restrain interstate commerce. In other words that the anti-trust law applies to every agreement in restraint of interstate trade, whether made by corporations or individuals. In the next place the court held that any agreement or combination which directly operates not alone upon the manufacture but upon the sale of an article of interstate commerce, by preventing or restricting its sale, is denounced by the Sherman law. The form of such an agreement is immaterial, if it operates directly to put a restraint upon trade or commerce among the several States.

and Ohio Fuel Company.—United States *vs.* Chesapeake and Ohio Fuel Company (105 Fed. Rep., 93).

brought in the Circuit Court of the United States in the District of Ohio, in May, 1899, to restrain fourteen companies engaged in producing and shipping coal and coke in the Kanawha District, West Virginia, from carrying out an agreement made with the Chesapeake and Ohio Fuel

Company, whereby the latter company was to receive and sell the entire product of the fourteen companies, intended for shipment west of Cincinnati, the companies to fix the rate at which the coal should be sold, and the amount of coal and coke each constituent company should furnish.

Upon hearing the Circuit Court found that the defendants, acting under this agreement, monopolized and controlled the amount of coal and coke produced in the Kanawha District, and only permitted such amount of coal to be mined and coke to be made as could be sold by the fuel company in accordance with the agreement, the producers being permitted to ship only such amounts as should be apportioned among them by an executive committee selected by the members of the association; that the defendants, acting under the agreement, not only controlled the amount of coal and coke shipped into the territory sought to be controlled, but wholly destroyed competition in the sale of the same.

The court held the agreement to be in violation of the Sherman anti-trust law, as being an attempt to confer power to regulate and restrain interstate commerce by contract, and a usurpation of the functions of Congress. That it was for Congress to determine what regulations of trade will promote the public good, and that it is the policy of Congress to promote individual effort. Upon appeal to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, the judgment of the lower court was affirmed.

Northern Securities Case.—The United States *vs.* The Northern Securities Company et al.

This suit was filed on March 10, 1902, in the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of Minnesota, to restrain the carrying into effect of an agreement between the officers of The Great Northern Railway Company and The Northern Pacific Railway Company, whereby all competition between the two railway systems should be prevented. To accomplish this purpose, J. Pierpont Morgan and his associate stockholders of the Northern Pacific Railway Company, and James J. Hill and his associate stockholders of the Great Northern Railway Company caused to be incorporated under the laws of New Jersey a corporation with a capital stock of \$400,000,000, called the Northern Securities Company. The officers and managers of the two railway systems became the officers and managers of the Northern Securities Company. The latter company acquired a controlling interest in the stock of the two railway companies by issuing its stock in exchange for the stock of the railway companies; the stockholders of the railway companies ceased to be such and became stockholders of the securities company. In this manner the Northern Securities Company absolutely controlled the management and policy of both

railways; the former stockholders of the two railway systems no longer drew their dividends from the railway companies, but the holding company—the Northern Securities Company. Dividends were made up from the earnings of the two railway systems.

In this manner, by making the stockholders of each railway system jointly interested in both systems, and by practically pooling the earnings of both systems for the benefit of the stockholders of each, and by vesting the selection of the directors and officers of each system in a common body—the Northern Securities Company—with not only the power but the duty to pursue a policy which would promote the interests, not of one system at the expense of the other, but of both at the expense of the public, all inducement for competition was to be destroyed, a virtual consolidation effected, and a monopoly of the interstate and foreign commerce formerly carried on by the two railway systems as independent competitors established.

To this petition the several defendants have within the past few days filed answers, admitting some of the allegations but denying others. Testimony will soon be taken upon the issues raised in the pleadings and the case brought to a hearing early in the fall.

The Beef Trust.—United States *vs.* Swift & Company and others.

This suit was brought in May, 1902, in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Northern District of Illinois, to restrain the operations of the so-called "Beef Trust." The petition charges the defendants with entering into an unlawful agreement and conspiracy to destroy all competition in the purchase of live stock in the sale of dressed meats, by—

Directing and requiring their respective purchasing agents to bid for the various stock yards where live stock is purchased to refrain from bidding against each other in the purchase of live stock

By at times bidding up the price of such stock to a point above its actual market value for the purpose and with the intent to induce the shipment to those points of large numbers of sheep and hogs so that, upon the arrival of the stock by receiving from bidding against each other the live stock is sold below its market value and for much less than could have been obtained at other markets;

By collusively restraining and curtailing the quantities of dressed meats shipped by them to the different markets of the United States with the intent to raise prices, and by arbitrarily, from time to time, by means of their agents, arbitrarily raising and lowering and fixing the prices at which the meats shall be sold, for the purpose and with the intent to destroy all competition;

By at certain places imposing certain cartage charges for

delivery of meats to dealers, such charges not being made at other places under similar conditions, with the purpose and intent to render it impossible for certain retail dealers to purchase meats;

By means of rebates and other devices, under agreements with the various railroad companies, the defendants have been given and are enjoying lower rates for the transportation of their meats than their competitors, thus forcing their competitors into ruinous competition and loss, for the purpose of destroying all competition in the sale of live stock and fresh meats throughout the various States of the United States.

The petition prays that the defendants may be enjoined from doing or continuing the unlawful acts charged.

A temporary restraining order was granted on May 20, 1902, by Judge Crosscup at Chicago, enjoining each and all of the defendants from continuing to carry out the unlawful agreement and conspiracy charged in the petition. At this time no answers have been filed by the defendants to the petition.

TRUSTS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES—FREE-TRADE ENGLAND THE HOME OF TRUSTS.

Free-trade England seems to be especially the home of trusts. United States Consul Day, writing from Bradford, England, on May 19, 1900, said:

"The combine mania has smitten this district with almost the fury of an epidemic, and more than any other part of the country it is responsible for the flotation of trusts." He then presents tables showing at Bradford alone the combination of 126 businesses into five associations, the British Cotton and Wool Dyers' Association, the Yorkshire Wool Combers' Association, the Yorkshire Color Dyers' Association, the Bradford Dyers' Association, and the Bradford Coal Company, their capitalization being over \$51,000,000. Consul Dexter, of Leeds, in a report to the State Department dated May 28, 1900, forwards an extract from The Financial Times, giving a list of 296 businesses which had been within two years combined into 13 organizations with a total capital of \$182,000,000. Consul Boyle, of Liverpool, reports a combination of chemical manufacturers with a capital of \$41,000,000, a combination of salt manufacturers and salt mine owners with a capital of \$20,000,000, and a combination of warehousing establishments with a capital of \$5,000,000.

Spinners' Trust.—Consul Halstead, of Birmingham, announces the formation of a Worsted Spinners' trust made up of 106 firms

with a capital of \$87,000,000, also a combination of wall paper companies with \$29,000,000 capital, and another of bleaching companies with a capital of \$48,000,000 and including 53 firms; also a combination of cement manufacturers with a capitalization of \$40,000,000. Consul Fleming reports from Edinburg a large number of trade combinations, among them the United Alkali Company, composed of 48 firms, the English Sewing Cotton Company, composed of firms with a capitalization of \$13,000,000; the Cotton Spinners' and Doublers' Association, 31 firms, capital \$29,000,000; the American Thread Company, 13 firms, capital \$18,000,000; the British Oil and Cake Mills, 17 firms, capital \$7,000,000; the Calico Printers' Association, 60 firms, capital \$44,000,000; wall paper manufacturers, 31 firms, capital \$20,000,000, and many others. Consul Taylor, of Glasgow, says large numbers of trusts have been formed in that section and that "no attention is given to them and they excite no comment whatever. The impression," he says, "that these 'combinations' differ in aims, objects, and workings from trusts in America is erroneous. * * * They are regarded by the public as monopolies pure and simple; still there are those who contend that as much can be said in their defense as in condemnation."

Trusts in Austria.—In the other countries of Europe trusts flourish, but apparently not with such success and application to all branches of business as in free-trade England. From Austria-Hungary Consul-General Carl Bailey Hurst reported on August 3, 1900, that "in spite of its comparatively young manufacturing industries, Austria is not behind other European countries in the matter of trusts. Some political economists designate Austria as the birthplace of the trusts of Central Europe. Since 1873 the number of Austrian trade combinations has steadily risen, embracing pretty nearly all articles of manufacture." The iron trust, Mr. Hurst says, includes the entire number of iron works in Austria; the petroleum trust comprises 72 factories, and the sugar trust embraces all sugar factories and refineries in Austria. Consul Hossfeld, of Trieste, says: "The formation of trusts in Austria has developed only during the last few years. In the last three years these syndicates have increased in numbers to such an extent that there does not appear to be at present any really important industry in the country which has not resorted to combination; and this in spite of the fact that the legality of trusts has been repeatedly and firmly upheld by the courts." Vice-Consul Kubinsky, at Vienna, reports a large number of trusts in Austria, says: "The chief object which is claimed, is to prevent an overproduction of the article and the falling of the price in the home market, to establish a uniform selling price, and to guard against the delinquent debtors."

France and Belgium.—These are the avowed objects, but their ulterior objects, of course, the public is not able to ascertain. Consul Winslow, of Liège, Belgium, reported in 1900 a large number of trade combinations in Belgium for the purpose of regulating prices and distributing orders among the corporations, and adds: "It seems to be the general impression here that these trade combines are not detrimental to the interests of the workingmen, but on the contrary to their advantage."

In France the existence of a large number of trusts or trade combinations for the control of production and prices of articles of common use, such as sugar, rice, candles, coal, petroleum, matches, tobacco, etc., is reported. Consul Thackara, of Havre, reported in May, 1900, that in 1897 there were in France no less than 5,680 industrial, commercial, and agricultural syndicates. The production and sale of refined petroleum, he says, are in the hands of a powerful organization, and the pig iron industry of France is virtually controlled by a joint stock company formed for this purpose. Consul Skinner, of Marseilles, reports that "Syndicates have been successfully organized and are now in more or less undisputed control of the following commodities or utilities: Sugar, rice, sulphur, candles, coal, petroleum, tiles, matches, tobacco, transportation by land, and transportation of immigrants."

In Germany the existence of trusts in the principal industries is well known. The Consul-General at Berlin, in a report to the State Department in 1900, said: "The organization of German manufacturers and producers of raw material into syndicates or trade combinations began nearly forty years ago. In 1870 there were five syndicates in Germany, and these have steadily increased until they numbered, according to the best estimates, 345 in 1897, and cover practically the entire field of industrial activity in this country."

It is not true that as the rich have grown richer the poor have grown poorer. On the contrary, never before has the average man, the wage-worker, the farmer, the small trader, been so well off as in this country and at the present time.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

There have been abuses connected with the accumulation of wealth; yet it remains true that a fortune accumulated in legitimate business can be accumulated by the person specially benefited only on condition of conferring immense incidental benefits upon others.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 8, 1901.

THE PHILIPPINES.

REPUBLICAN POLICY CARRIED TO SUCCESS NOTWITHSTANDING THE INSURRECTION.

The Philippines became territory of the United States by the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of peace with Spain, April 11, 1899. There was then an insurrection against the authority of the United States led by Aguinaldo. That insurrection has been suppressed; civil authority has taken the place of military authority throughout the archipelago; a general amnesty has been proclaimed, and Congress, by legislation, has provided for a civil government in the Philippines that is more liberal than any government ever before over the islands, and with the promise of a legislative assembly when a census shall have been taken to determine the proper basis of representation.

No other great accession of territory has been so quickly provided with civil government in the past. It is more liberal than that first given to the Northwest Territory, from which the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin were organized, or that of Louisiana, from which the States west of the Mississippi River were organized. The Supreme Court has declared that the government extended to the Northwest Territory and the District of Louisiana were more like those of a British Crown colony than a State in the American Union.

This question of organizing new territory and providing government for the people in new territory acquired by the United States is as old as the Government. It became a subject of great controversy when President Jefferson acquired by purchase from France the great Louisiana territory, and that controversy has been revived with each acquisition of territory since that date. The Supreme Court has, however, decided that Congress has full power to govern territory of the United States, and that the Constitution does not extend to such territory by its own force. The theory of *ex proprio rigore* has not the approval of the Supreme Court.

That the Philippine question is a troublesome one, no one has ever denied. President McKinley so recognized it, and he hesitated long before he decided that the whole archipelago should be ceded to this Government. That question was not decided in the light of commercial advantage or territorial extension. It was decided in conscience as to the duty of this Government toward the people in the Philippines who had revolted against Spain, and our respon-

sibility to the other civilized governments of the world. The war for humanity ended in a larger duty to humanity, and that duty was accepted by President McKinley, by his Peace Commissioners, and by Congress, as other great obligations have been accepted by the American people. President McKinley said at the time "we must choose between manly doing and base desertion," and the American people approved of his doing what was done. There was, in 1898, practically no division of public sentiment on this question. It was almost unanimous in favor of taking over the Philippine archipelago from Spain as indemnity for the war. Democrats and Republicans urged this course. But President McKinley hesitated in an effort to find some other way than assumption of the responsibility for the government of the Philippines. There was no other way. We had destroyed the only government that had ever had existence in the Philippines. There was no other and no hope of any other. The ablest men in the Philippines did not want complete independence. Aguinaldo, the leader of the insurrection, did not. He wanted independence under the protection of the United States. This Government has never assumed such responsibilities and never will.

There was only one alternative to keeping the islands. That was by returning them to Spain. The Filipinos protested against such suggestion, and the American people did not approve it. It was not in harmony with our purpose in waging a war for humanity in Cuba. When Commodore Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, he destroyed the power of Spain in the Philippines. That was May 1, 1898. On receipt of the news of Dewey's victory President McKinley telegraphed to the commander of the fleet, asking what troops would be necessary. Dewey advised sending 5,000 troops to take possession of Manila. The President, by executive order, May 19, 1898, announced that "as the control of the naval station had rendered it necessary in prosecution of the war with Spain to send an army of occupation to the Philippines for the two-fold purpose of completing the reduction of the Spanish power in that quarter and of giving order and security to the islands while in the possession of the United States, he had designated General Merritt to proceed with an army of occupation for that purpose."

"It will be the duty," that order declared, "of the commander of the expedition, immediately upon arriving in the islands, to publish a proclamation declaring that we come not to make war upon the people of the Philippines nor upon any party or faction among them, but to protect them in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights. All persons who either by active aid or honest submission cooperate with the United States in its efforts to give effect to this beneficent purpose, will receive

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the reward of its support and protection. Our occupation should be as free from severity as possible."

In pursuance of this order the first expedition sailed May 25 and arrived at Manila June 30. Others expeditions followed until we had an army of 15,000 men in front of Manila. The protocol with Spain was signed in Washington, August 12, 1898, providing in addition to the relinquishment of Cuba and the cession of Porto Rico that "the United States will occupy the city, bay, and harbor of Manila pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines." The news of the signing of the protocol did not reach Admiral Dewey and General Merritt until they had demanded and accepted the surrender of Manila on August 13.

No Joint Occupation.—Four days later, on August 17, President McKinley directed that a telegram be sent to General Merritt saying:

*"The President directs that there must be no joint occupation with the insurgents. The United States in possession of Manila City, Manila bay and harbor, must preserve the peace, and protect persons and property within the territory by their military and naval forces. The insurgents and all others must recognize the military occupation and authority of the United States, and the cessation of hostilities proclaimed by the President." On the 12th of the following December the treaty was signed by the Commissioners at Paris, and on December 21st, in an order to the Secretary of War, after referring to the conclusion of the treaty and the cession of future control of the Philippines to the United States, the President said: "The military commander is enjoined to make known to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands that in succeeding to the sovereignty of Spain * * * the authority of the United States is to be exerted for the security of persons and property of the people of the islands and for the confirmation of all their private rights and relations. It will be the duty of the commander of the forces of occupation to declare that we come not as invaders or conquerors, but as friends to protect the native in their homes, in their employments, and in their social and religious rights. All persons who, either by active aid or by honest submission, cooperate with the Government of the United States to give effect to this beneficent purpose will receive the reward of its support and protection. All others will be brought within the lawful rule we have assumed with firmness, if need be, but without severity so far as may be possible."*

There was no joint occupation. The first Philippine Commission, composed of Admiral Dewey, General Clark, President Schurman, Professor Worcester, and Charles Dwyer, sent its report: "When the city of Manila was taken on August 13 the Filipinos took no part in the attack, but came following us with a view to looting the

city, and were only prevented from doing so by our forces preventing them from entering. Aguinaldo claimed that he had the right to occupy the city; he demanded of General Merritt the palace of Malacanan for himself and the cession of all the churches of Manila, also a part of all the money taken from the Spaniards as spoils of war should be given up, and above all, that he should be given the arms of the Spanish prisoners."

Admiral Dewey said in his hearing before the Philippine committee of the Senate in June, 1902, that Aguinaldo had no higher ideal than that of loot. Dewey denied that he had ever heard of Aguinaldo's desire for independence until he issued his proclamation declaring himself dictator, and then he paid no attention to him or his pretensions. Dewey says he never saluted the piece of bunting Aguinaldo called the Filipino flag, never addressed him as General, and never gave him any more attention than to allow him to go to Cavite and organize a mob which he called his army.

After the American troops took possession of Manila, Aguinaldo went to Malolos and organized a government of his own. He had a Congress appointed by himself. They were all representatives of his own race and from Manila. He surrounded himself with luxury by assessing the people. The United States forces were at this time and until the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain restricted to the limitations of the protocol, "the city, bay, and harbor of Manila," and they did not interfere with Aguinaldo or his government established outside that limitation. General Merritt and his successor, General Otis, and Admiral Dewey observed strictly the letter and spirit of the protocol.

After the treaty of peace was signed in Paris, December 10, 1898, ceding the Philippines to the United States, General Otis was instructed by the President to proclaim in the most public manner that "we come not as invaders and conquerors, but as friends to protect the natives in their homes, in their employments, and in their personal and religious rights," and on the same day, December 21, General Otis was ordered to see that peace was preserved in Iloilo, but admonished that, "It is most important that there should be no conflict with the insurgents."

A month later, on January 21, 1899, President McKinley announced his intention of sending to Manila a Commission to cooperate with Admiral Dewey and General Otis. These gentlemen were Dr. Jacob Gould Schurman, President of Cornell University; Hon. Charles Denby, for many years minister to China, originally appointed by President Cleveland; and Prof. Dean C. Worcester, of the University of Michigan. These commissioners were instructed "to facilitate the most humane and effective extension of the authority throughout the islands, and to secure with the least

possible delay the benefits of a wise and generous protection of life and property to the inhabitants."

Democrats Aided in Ratifying the Treaty.—The treaty of peace was ratified by the Senate February 6, 1899. At that time the Republicans were in the minority in the Senate. Eighteen Senators who were not Republicans voted to ratify the treaty, and William J. Bryan came to Washington and urged all Democrats to vote for it. The treaty was ratified, and Democrats and Republicans felt they were acting in harmony with public sentiment in this country as well as for the best interests of the Filipinos, and according to the dictates of patriotism. The House passed the bill to pay the \$20,000,000 to Spain as provided by the treaty.

While the Republicans had a majority in the House the rules had to be suspended by a two-thirds vote to secure consideration for that bill, and 64 Democrats voted with the Republicans. Throughout the whole transaction which made the Philippines territory of the United States all parties in Congress contributed to every vote carrying out the executive action. From the inauguration of the war with Spain until the ratification of the treaty which ceded the Philippines to the United States, the minority was made up of individuals and not a party. The majority was made up of Republicans, Democrats, Populists, and Silver men. All parties approved the acquisition of the Philippines, as all parties had insisted on the war with Spain to drive her out of Cuba.

Among the Senators who voted to ratify the treaty of Paris were Allen of Nebraska, Populist; Butler of North Carolina, Populist; Clay of Georgia, Democrat; Faulkner of West Virginia, Democrat; Gray of Delaware, Democrat; Harris of Kansas, Populist; Jones of Nevada, Silver; Kenney of Delaware, Democrat; Kyle of South Dakota, Independent; Lindsey of Kentucky, Democrat; McEnery of Louisiana, Democrat; McLaurin of South Carolina, Democrat; Mantle of Montana, Silver; Morgan of Alabama, Democrat; Pettus of Alabama, Democrat; Stewart of Nevada, Silver; Sullivan of Mississippi, Democrat; Teller of Colorado, Silver; and Wellington of Maryland, and Mason of Illinois, Republicans, who have since opposed the course of the Administration in the Philippines. Thus it will be seen that ten Democrats, three Populists, four Silver men Independent, and Senators Mason and Wellington voted for the ratification of the treaty absolutely conveying the Philippines to the United States *two days after the breaking out of the war.*

The bill to appropriate \$20,000,000 to carry out the financial obligations of the treaty of Paris—or "to purchase 10,000,000 people at once," as the Democrats called it—was pending in the House January 20, 1899. Mr. Cannon, chairman of the Committee on Ap-

propriations, moved it as an amendment to an appropriation bill, and the Democrats raised the point of order against that motion. The bill was then brought into the House by Mr. Cannon under circumstances where it could only be considered by suspension, of the rules, and that required a two-thirds vote of the House or 168 votes, while there were but 155 Republican members present and voting. The motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill received 219 votes, with only 33 against it. There were 64 Democrats who voted with the Republicans and aided in passing the bill to appropriate \$20,000,000 to pay Spain and give the approval of Congress to the treaty by which the Philippines became territory of the United States.

Here is the list of Democrats voting for this appropriation: Allen, Bailey, Bankhead, Bell, Berry, Brantley, Baker, Maryland; Barlow, Bodine, Brenner, Ohio; Brucker, Burke, Catchings, Clardy, Cochran, New York; Cowherd, Cummings, Davey, De Vries, Dinsmore, Dockery, Driggs, Elliott, Fitzgerald, Fleming, Fox, Greene, Populist; Henry, Mississippi; Henry, Texas; Kleberg, Lanham, Latimer, Lentz, Lewis, Georgia; Livingston, Lloyd, McClellan, McLain, Maddox, Maguire, Meekison, Meyer, Louisiana; Miers, Indiana; Moon, Newlands, Ogden, Pierce, Tennessee; Rhea, Richardson, Ridgley, Robinson, Indiana; Settle, Sims, Slayden, Smith, Kentucky; Spight, Stallings, Stark, Stokes, Strode, Populist; Sulzer, Underwood, Vincent, Williams, Mississippi. (See Congressional Record, Fifty-fifth Congress, vol. 32, part 2, p. 2119.)

Mr. Wheeler of Kentucky, warned his own party that they were assuming part of the responsibility for the policy of the Government in the Philippines by their votes, and said "I can not refrain from expressing a superlative contempt for a man who believes a thing to be wrong, but for the sake of form will give his adherence to it." But a majority of the Democrats in the House ignored his warning and voted to suspend the rules and pass the bill.

The insurgents under the leadership of Aguinaldo attacked the American troops about Manila on February 4, 1899, two days before the ratification of the treaty of peace. Senor Buencamino, who was then Aguinaldo's private secretary, testified before the Insular Committee of the House in May, 1902, that Aguinaldo began his preparations for the attack on the Americans in November, 1898, when he learned that the islands were to be ceded to this Government. Admiral Dewey said in his testimony before the Philippines committee of the Senate that Aguinaldo began his treachery when he was denied permission to loot Manila.

When the civilian members of the Philippine Commission arrived in Manila the insurrection had begun. In their report to

the President they said: "Deplorable as war is the one in which we are now engaged was unavoidable by us. We were attacked by a bold, adventurous, and enthusiastic army. No alternative was left us but ignominious retreat. It is not to be conceived of that any American would have sanctioned the surrender of Manila to the insurgents. Our obligations to other nations and to the friendly Filipinos and to ourselves and our flag demanded that force should be met by force. Whatever the future of the Philippines may be, there is no course open to us now except the prosecution of the war until the insurgents are reduced to submission. The commission is of the opinion that there has been no time since the destruction of the Spanish squadron by Admiral Dewey when it was possible to withdraw our forces from the islands either with honor to ourselves or with safety to the inhabitants."

That was the view of the President and Congress. The legislative department of the Government sustained the Executive in measures to subdue the insurrection in the Philippines as it would in any other territory belonging to the United States.

President Schurman, Colonel Denby, and Professor Worcester, the civilian members of the Philippine Commission, arrived in Manila March 4, 1899. The insurrection had begun February 4, and was in progress. Aguinaldo had given secret orders for a massacre of the Americans in Manila February 15. Notwithstanding this condition, the Commission issued a proclamation to the people of the Philippine Islands, assuring them of the good will and fraternal feeling which was entertained for them by the President, and the aim and the objects of the American Government. Their attention was invited to certain regulative principles by which the United States would be guided in its relations with them. The following were suggested as of cardinal importance:

PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT OFFERED FILIPINOS.

1. The supremacy of the United States must and will be enforced throughout every part of the archipelago, and those who resist it can accomplish no end other than their own ruin.
2. The most ample liberty of self-government will be granted to the Philippine people which is reconcilable with the maintenance of a wise, just, stable, effective, and economical administration of public affairs, and compatible with the sovereign and international rights and obligations of the United States.
3. The civil rights of the Philippine people will be guaranteed and protected to the fullest extent: religious freedom assured, and all persons shall have an equal standing before the law.

4. Honor, justice, and friendship forbid the use of the Philippine people or islands as an object or means of exploitation. The purpose of the American Government is the welfare and advancement of the Philippine people.

5. There shall be guaranteed to the Philippine people an honest and effective civil service, in which, to the fullest extent practicable, natives shall be employed.

6. The collection and application of taxes and revenues will be put upon a sound, honest, and economical basis. Public funds raised justly and collected honestly, will be applied only in defraying the regular and proper expenses incurred by and for the establishment and maintenance of the Philippine government, and for such general improvements as public interests may demand. Local funds, collected for local purposes shall not be diverted to other ends. With such a prudent and honest fiscal administration, it is believed that the needs of the government will in a short time become compatible with a considerable reduction in taxation.

7. A pure, speedy, and effective administration of justice will be established, whereby the evils of delay, corruption, and exploitation will be effectually eradicated.

8. The construction of roads, railroads, and other means of communication and transportation, as well as other public works of manifest advantage to the Philippine people, will be promoted.

9. Domestic and foreign trade and commerce, agriculture and other industrial pursuits, and the general development of the country in the interest of its inhabitants will be constant objects of solicitude and fostering care.

10. Effective provision will be made for the establishment of elementary schools in which the children of the people shall be educated. Appropriate facilities will also be provided for higher education.

11. Reforms in all departments of the government, in all branches of the public service, and in all corporations closely touching the common life of the people must be undertaken without delay and effected, conformably to right and justice, in a way that will satisfy the well-founded demands and the highest sentiments and aspirations of the Philippine people.

AFTER THREE YEARS' WAR.

This proclamation issued to the people of the Philippine Islands on March 4, 1899, is an important historical incident now, because after three years war to completely put down the insurrection it is fulfilled by the legislation of Congress for the islands and the administration of the Taft Commission. President McKinley said, in his message of 1899: "But before their (the Commissioners) arrival at Manila, the sinister ambition of a few leaders of the Filipinos had created a situation full of embarrassment for us,

and most grievous in its consequences to themselves." That is true to-day that none of the leaders who aided Aguinaldo in his insurrection are longer honored by their people.

It required the work of a large army for nearly three years to suppress the insurrection, but it was done with firmness, that civil government could be established to give protection to the Philippine people under the sovereignty and by the authority of the United States.

The story of that war is not necessary to this discussion except where it has been perverted for political purposes by those in this country who have made war on the United States Army. The insurrection in the Philippines did not change in the slightest degree the policy of the United States. It delayed for three years the consummation of the purpose to establish civil government in the archipelago on the principle of individual rights and individual liberty, with as great measure of self government as the people were capable of administering.

This was stated in the proclamation issued by the first Philippine Commissioners, and was explained in detail to the representatives of Aguinaldo, who, on April 4, 1899, asked for a suspension of hostilities, that the insurgent leaders might have time to consider the proclamation. Colonel Arguelles, one of Aguinaldo's officers, was allowed to proceed to Manila by General Otis that he might meet the Commission. His request for a suspension of hostilities could not be granted, because that was a military proposition. But various plans of government were suggested, though he was told that the sovereignty of the United States could not be discussed. That had been settled by the treaty of Paris. President McKinley, in his reply to the Commission, authorized President Schurman "to propose that under military power of the President, pending action of Congress, government of the Philippine Islands shall consist of a governor-general appointed by the President; cabinet appointed by the governor-general, a general advisory council elected by the people; the qualifications of electors to be carefully considered and determined, and the governor-general to have absolute veto. Judiciary strong and independent; principal judges appointed by the President. The cabinet and judges to be chosen from natives or Americans, or both, having regard to fitness. The President earnestly desires the cessation of bloodshed, and that the people of the Philippine Islands at an early date shall have the largest measure of self-government consistent with peace and good order."

That was proposed in a message sent by Secretary Hay to the Philippine Commission May 5, 1899.

It was submitted to the emissaries of Aguinaldo. Colonel Ar-

guelles was not allowed to return because he favored the American policy. The new emissaries of Aguinaldo promised to consider the proposition, but the leaders of the insurrection had only sought for time to prepare for further resistance. They did not accept the offer of President McKinley. They had plotted a general massacre in Manila February 15, and they were still plotting.

The war had to be prosecuted until the insurrection was put down and order restored. But as the provinces were freed from hostilities they were placed under such civil government as was possible under the military power of the President.

The Taft Commission was sent to the Philippines, arriving in Manila June 3, 1900, and began to organize civil government in the municipalities and provinces that were freed from insurgents. Aguinaldo was captured by General Funston March 16, 1901; the collapse of the insurrection came in May, and Judge Taft, president of the Philippine Commission, was inaugurated civil governor of the islands July 4, 1901. The Philippine civil government bill was signed by the President July 1, 1902, and on July 4 the whole of the Christian Filipino provinces in the Philippines came under civil authority, the military authority becoming subordinate thereto on that date.

Schools in the Philippines.—The American school followed the American army in the Philippines, and even before the provinces were pacified the American soldiers gathered the children into schools and began teaching them. A year ago one of the army transports carried more than 700 American school teachers to Manila, and in January, when Governor Taft appeared before the Philippines Committee of the Senate he said there were at that time 835 American teachers in the islands and that 300 others were on their way. These American teachers are scattered throughout the islands in 445 towns, and 200 of these towns are without military garrison. Not only did the Philippines Commission make provision for a system of public schools throughout the Filipino provinces, but it also provided for a trade school in Manila, a normal school for the training of native teachers, a school of agriculture, a nautical school, a school of telegraphy, and in addition to these, provision made to send Filipino pupils to this country to be taught the ways of American civilization.

AGUINALDO'S ADDRESS.

After Aguinaldo was captured and taken to Manila, he issued the following address to the Filipino people:

"I believe that I am not in error in presuming that the unhappy fate to which my adverse fortune has led me is not a surprise to those who have been familiar day by day with the progress of the

war. The lessons thus taught, the full meaning of which has but recently come to my knowledge, suggest to me with irresistible force that the complete termination of hostilities and a lasting peace are not only desirable but absolutely essential to the welfare of the Philippines.

"The Filipinos have never been dismayed by their weakness, nor have they faltered in following the path pointed out by their fortitude and courage. The time has come, however, in which they find their advance along this path impeded by an irresistible force—a force which, while it restrains them, yet enlightens the mind and opens another course by presenting to them the cause of peace. This cause has been joyfully embraced by a majority of our fellow-countrymen who are already united around the glorious and sovereign banner of the United States. In this banner they repose their trust, in the belief that under its protection our people will attain all the promised liberties which they are even now beginning to enjoy.

"The country has declared unmistakably in favor of peace; so be it. Enough of blood; enough of tears and desolation. This wish can not be ignored by the men still in arms if they are animated by no other desire than to serve this noble people which has thus clearly manifested its will.

"So also do I respect this will, now that it is known to me, and after mature deliberation resolutely proclaim to the world that I can not refuse to heed the voice of a people longing for peace, nor the lamentations of thousands of families yearning to see their dear ones in the enjoyment of the liberty promised by the generosity of the great American nation.

"By acknowledging and accepting the sovereignty of the United States throughout the entire archipelago, as I now do, without any reservation whatsoever, I believe that I am serving thee, my beloved country. May happiness be thine!

"EMILIO AGUINALDO."

MANILA, April 19, 1901.

CONGRESS PROVIDES FOR A CIVIL GOVERNMENT WITH A LEGISLATURE.

President Roosevelt recommended and the Republicans in Congress began the last session with the purpose of providing civil government for the Philippines. Two bills were prepared for legislation regarding the Philippines. One was the Philippines tariff bill to provide revenue for the islands, and the other was to provide a civil government to take over the control which had for three

years been under military authority. Notwithstanding the fact that both bills were for the benefit of the Filipinos and to subordinate military authority and provide for civil government, the Democrats opposed both and delayed their passage for many weeks while they assailed the Army in their speeches. They did not discuss these legislative measures. They abused the American soldiers who were fighting the battles of their country.

The Democrats delayed these measures, but could not prevent the Republicans from adopting them.

The Philippines civil government act passed by the Fifty-seventh Congress and signed by the President July 1, 1902, in its first sections gives the approval of Congress to the action of President McKinley in creating the existing Philippines government, and authorizing it to exercise the powers set forth in his instructions to the Philippines Commission, dated April 7, 1900. The act also ratifies the President's order of July 12, 1898, whereby a tariff was collected at the ports of the Philippines. The act makes provision for the creation of a legislature to consist of two houses—the Philippines Commission and the Philippines Assembly—the latter body to be a popular assembly of delegates chosen at a general election by the people of the Philippine Islands; and for the transfer to that legislature all legislative power heretofore conferred on the Commission. This legislature is to be provided for two years after a census is taken, provided the condition of general and complete peace with recognition of the authority of the United States shall have continued in the territory of the islands not inhabited by the Moros and other non-Christian tribes.

The following bill of rights is contained in the act:

Bill of Rights.—SECTION 4. That all inhabitants of the Philippine Islands continuing to reside therein who were Spanish subjects on the 11th day of April, 1899, and then resided in said islands, and their children born subsequent thereto, shall be deemed and held to be citizens of the Philippine Islands and as such entitled to the protection of the United States, except such as shall have elected to preserve their allegiance to the Crown of Spain in accordance with the provisions of the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, signed at Paris, December 10, 1898.

SECTION 5. That no law shall be enacted in said islands which shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny to any person therein the equal protection of the laws.

That in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to be heard by himself and counsel, to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him, to have a speedy and public trial, to meet the witnesses face to face, and to have compulsory process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his behalf.

That no person shall be held to answer for a criminal offense without due process of law; and no person for the same offense shall be twice put in jeopardy of punishment, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself.

That all persons shall before conviction be bailable by sufficient sureties except for capital offenses.

That no law impairing the obligation of contracts shall be enacted.

That no person shall be imprisoned for debt.

That the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion, insurrection, or invasion the public safety may require it, in either of which events the same may be suspended by the President, or by the governor, with the approval of the Philippine Commission, wherever during such period the necessity for such suspension shall exist.

That no *ex post facto* law or bill of attainder shall be enacted.

That no law granting a title of nobility shall be enacted, and no person holding any office of profit or trust in said islands, shall, without the consent of the Congress of the United States, accept any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever from any king, queen, prince, or foreign state.

That excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

That the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated.

That neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in said islands.

That no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for redress of grievances.

That no law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed.

That no money shall be paid out of the treasury except in pursuance of an appropriation by law.

That the rule of taxation in said islands shall be uniform.

That no private or local bill which may be enacted into law shall embrace more than one subject, and that subject shall be expressed in the title of the bill.

That no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or things to be seized.

That all money collected on any tax levied or assessed for a

special purpose shall be treated as a special fund in the treasury and paid out for such purpose only.

The Legislature.—The provision for the legislature is practically the same as that for Porto Rico. The members of the assembly are to hold office for two years. The legislature is to hold annual sessions, which are to continue not more than ninety days. Provision is made for the election of two resident commissioners to the United States, who shall be entitled to official recognition as such by all departments, and to the privilege of the floor of each House of Congress. No person shall be eligible to such election who is not a *bona fide* resident of the islands.

The franchise provision of the law is similar to that provided for Porto Rico. The act authorizes the Philippine government to acquire the friars' lands by purchase or by the exercise of the right of eminent domain, and to issue and sell bonds and apply the money in payment for the property.

Provision is made whereby the public property of the United States in the islands is to be administered by the Philippine government. The government is also authorized to provide by general legislation for the granting to actual occupants and settlers of agricultural lands of the United States in the islands, but not to exceed 16 hectares (40 acres) to one person, nor more than 2,000 hectares to any corporation. This is in the nature of a homestead law, and such grant is to be conditioned upon actual and continued improvement and cultivation of the premises sold for not less than five years. A homestead is not to exceed 40 acres in extent, an area which, from the testimony before the committee, is the equivalent in average productiveness of 160 acres in the United States.

Provision is made for the lease of the timber lands, and for the cutting of the timber and forest products under laws and regulations now in force in the islands and those to be prescribed by the local government.

Complete provision is made for the exploration of mineral lands and for the location and patent of mining claims. The provisions relating to these subjects are strict and amply sufficient to prevent exploitation.

The Division of Insular Affairs of the War Department, organized by the Secretary of War, which has been of much service in matters pertaining to the insular possessions of the United States, is continued until otherwise provided by Congress, and is to be known as the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department.

Philippines Tariff Law.—The Philippines tariff law enacted by the Fifty-seventh Congress was intended to restore the status which existed prior to the decision of the Supreme Court in the "Diamond

Rings" Case, declaring the Philippines domestic and not foreign territory. Before that decision the Government had been collecting duties on goods coming from the Philippines at the same rate as those provided in our tariff laws for like articles imported from foreign countries. A new tariff law became necessary because the Supreme Court decision not only prevented the collection of duties against products of the Philippines coming into this country but also made ineffective the tariff law adopted by the Philippines Commission for the Philippines. The law provides for the collection of 75 per cent of the Dingley rates on products of the Philippines, less the export duty levied in the Philippines on certain products—and that all such revenues collected in this country shall not be covered into the general fund of the Treasury, but paid into the treasury of the Philippine Islands to be used and expended for the benefit of those islands. The act makes the Philippine tariff a part of the Statutes of the United States. It also provides for the collection of tonnage taxes on vessels plying between the ports of the United States and the Philippines.

Our soldiers carrying our flag in Luzon will be supported by the people of the United States (continued applause), and hostilities will stop in that distant island of the sea when the men who assaulted our flag and our soldiers shall lay down their arms.—President McKinley, at Cleveland, Ohio, October 18, 1899.

We will fulfill in the Philippines the obligations imposed by the triumphs of our Army and the treaty of peace by international law, by the nation's sense of honor, and more than all by the rights, interests, and conditions of the Philippine people themselves.—President McKinley to Notification Committee, July 12, 1900.

We have not had any water cures in the South on the negroes, but one Senator said the other day something about the sand cure. I say, from my knowledge of the situation, that when we get ready to put a negro's head in the sand we put his body there, too.—Senator B. F. Tillman, in the United States Senate, May 7, 1902.

The boys who carry our flag in that distant sea will be sustained by the American people. It is the flag of our faith and our purpose; it is the flag of our love. It represents the conscience of the country, and carries with it, wherever it goes, education, civilization, and liberty. And let those lower it who will!—President McKinley, at Evanston, Ill., October 17, 1899.

AMNESTY FOR FILIPINOS.

ALL FILIPINO PRISONERS SET FREE—PRESIDENT CONGRATULATES THE ARMY.

President Roosevelt formally declared the restoration of peace in the Philippines July 4, 1902, and placed the islands under complete civil control. Three separate orders and proclamations were issued on that date—one by the President, over his own signature, extending amnesty; one through the Secretary of War by the President's order relieving General Chaffee from his duty as military governor, and a third as a general order to the Army, expressing the President's high appreciation of the work it has accomplished, both in Cuba and the Philippines. These proclamations and orders mark the beginning of complete civil government in the Philippines. They speak for themselves.

Proclamation of Amnesty.—The amnesty proclamation is as follows:

"By the President of the United States.

"Whereas many of the inhabitants of the Philippine archipelago were in insurrection against the authority and sovereignty of the Kingdom of Spain at divers times from August, 1896, until the cession of the archipelago by that Kingdom to the United States of America, and since such cession many of the persons so engaged in insurrection have until recently resisted the authority and sovereignty of the United States; and

"Whereas the insurrection against the authority and sovereignty of the United States is now at an end, and peace has been established in all parts of the archipelago, except in the country inhabited by the Moro tribes, to which this proclamation does not apply; and

"Whereas during the course of the insurrection against the Kingdom of Spain and against the Government of the United States, persons engaged therein, or those in sympathy with and abetting them, committed many acts in violation of the laws of civilized warfare; but it is believed that such acts were generally committed in ignorance of these laws, and under orders issued by the civil or military insurrectionary leaders; and

"Whereas it is deemed to be wise and humane, in accordance with the beneficent purposes of the Government of the United States toward the Filipino people, and conducive to peace, order, and loyalty among them, that the doers of such acts who have not already suffered punishment shall not be held criminally responsible, but shall

be relieved from punishment for participation in these insurrections and for unlawful acts committed during the course thereof by a general amnesty and pardon;

"Now, therefore, be it known that I, Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the power and authority vested by the Constitution, do hereby proclaim and declare, without reservation or condition, except as hereinafter provided, a full and complete pardon and amnesty to all persons in the Philippine archipelago who have participated in the insurrections aforesaid, or who have given aid and comfort to persons participating in said insurrections, for the offenses of treason or sedition, and for all offenses political in their character committed in the course of such insurrections pursuant to orders issued by the civil or military insurrectionary authorities, or which grow out of internal political feuds or dissensions between Filipinos and Spaniards, or the Spanish authorities, or which resulted from internal political feuds or dissensions among the Filipinos themselves during either of said insurrections.

"Provided, however, That the pardon and amnesty hereby granted shall not include such persons committing crimes since May 1, 1902, in any province of the archipelago in which at the time civil government was established, nor shall it include such persons as have been heretofore finally convicted of the crimes of murder, rape, arson, or robbery, by any military or civil tribunal organized under the authority of Spain or of the United States of America, but special application may be made to the proper authority for pardon by any person belonging to the exempted classes, and such clemency as is consistent with humanity and justice will be liberally extended; and, further

"Provided, That this amnesty and pardon shall not affect the title or right of the Government of the United States or that of the Philippine Islands to any property or property rights heretofore used or appropriated by the military or civil authorities of the Government of the United States or that of the Philippine Islands organized under authority of the United States by way of confiscation or otherwise; and

"Provided further, That every person who shall seek to avail himself of this proclamation shall take and subscribe the following oath before any authority in the Philippine archipelago authorized to administer oaths, namely: 'I solemnly swear (or affirm) that I recognize and accept the supreme authority of the United States of America in the Philippine Islands and will maintain true faith and allegiance thereto; that I impose upon myself this obligation voluntarily without mental reservation or purpose of evasion, so help me God.'

"Given under my hand at the city of Washington this 4th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1902, and in the one hundred and twenty-seventh year of the Independence of the United States.

"THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"By the President:

"ELIHU ROOT,

"*Secretary of War.*"

General Chaffee Relieved.—General Chaffee is relieved of his civil duties, and the Philippine Commission is made the superior authority in the following order:

The insurrection against the sovereign authority of the United States in the Philippine archipelago having ended, and provincial civil government having been established throughout the entire territory of the archipelago not inhabited by Moro tribes, under the instructions of the President to the Philippine Commission, dated April 7, 1900, now ratified and confirmed by the act of Congress approved July 1, 1902, entitled "An act temporarily to provide for the administration of affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes," the general commanding the division of the Philippines is hereby relieved from the further performance of the duties of military governor, and the office of military governor in said archipelago is terminated. The general commanding the Division of the Philippines and all military officers in authority therein will continue to observe the direction contained in the aforesaid instructions of the President that the military forces in the Division of the Philippines shall be at all times subject under the orders of the military commander, to the call of the civil authorities for the maintenance of law and order, and the enforcement of their authority.

PRESIDENT CONGRATULATES THE ARMY.

Finally the President, through Secretary Root, pronounces the following eulogy upon the United States Army:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

ADJUTANT-GENERAL'S OFFICE,

Washington, July 4, 1902.

General Orders No. 66.

WAR DEPARTMENT, *Washington, July 4, 1902.*

To the Army of the United States:

The President, upon this anniversary of National Independence, wishes to express to the officers and enlisted men of the United States Army his deep appreciation of the service they have rendered

to the country in the great and difficult undertakings which they have brought to a successful conclusion during the past year.

He thanks the officers and the enlisted men who have been maintaining order and carrying on the military government in Cuba, because they have faithfully given effect to the humane purposes of the American people. They have with sincere kindness helped the Cuban people to take all the successive steps necessary to the establishment of their own constitutional government. During the time required for that process they have governed Cuba wisely, regarding justice and respecting individual liberty; have honestly collected and expended for the best interests of the Cuban people the revenues, amounting to over \$60,000,000; have carried out practical and thorough sanitary measures, greatly improving the health and lowering the death rate of the island. By patient scientific research they have ascertained the causes of yellow fever, and by good administration have put an end to that most dreadful disease which has long destroyed the lives and hindered the commercial prosperity of the Cubans. They have expedited justice and secured protection for the rights of the innocent, while they have cleansed the prisons and established sound discipline and healthful conditions for the punishment of the guilty.

Trained the Cubans.—They have reestablished and renovated and put upon a substantial basis adequate hospitals and asylums for the care of the unfortunate. They have established a general system of free common schools throughout the island, in which over two hundred thousand children are in actual attendance. They have constructed great and necessary public works. They have gradually trained the Cubans themselves in all branches of administration, so that the new government upon assuming power has begun its work with an experienced force of Cuban civil-service employees competent to execute its orders. They have borne themselves with dignity and self-control, so that nearly four years of military government have passed unmarred by injury or insult to man or woman. They have transferred the government of Cuba to the Cuban people amid universal expressions of friendship and good will, and have left a record of ordered justice and liberty, of rapid improvement in material and moral conditions and progress in the art of government which reflects great credit upon the people of the United States.

The President thanks the officers and enlisted men of the Army in the Philippines, both Regulars and Volunteers, for the courage and fortitude, the indomitable spirit and loyal devotion with which they have put down and ended the great insurrection which has raged throughout the archipelago against the lawful sovereignty and just authority of the United States. The task was peculiarly

difficult and trying. They were required at first to overcome organized resistance of superior numbers, well equipped with modern arms of precision, intrenched in an unknown country of mountain defiles, jungles, and swamps, apparently capable of interminable defense. When this resistance had been overcome they were required to crush out a general system of guerrilla warfare conducted among a people speaking unknown tongues, from whom it was almost impossible to obtain the information necessary for successful pursuit or to guard against surprise and ambush.

Treachery and Cruelty.—The enemies by whom they were surrounded were regardless of all obligations of good faith and of all the limitations which humanity has imposed upon civilized warfare. Bound themselves by the laws of war, our soldiers were called upon to meet every device of unscrupulous treachery and to contemplate without reprisal the infliction of barbarous cruelties upon their comrades and friendly natives. They were instructed, while punishing armed resistance, to conciliate the friendship of the peaceful, yet had to do with a population among whom it was impossible to distinguish friend from foe, and who in countless instances used a false appearance of friendship for ambush and assassination. They were obliged to deal with problems of communication and transportation in a country without roads and frequently made impassable by torrential rains. They were weakened by tropical heat and tropical disease. Widely scattered over a great archipelago, extending a thousand miles from north to south, the gravest responsibilities, involving the life or death of their comrades, frequently devolved upon young and inexperienced officers beyond the reach of specific orders or advice.

Under all these adverse circumstances the Army of the Philippines has accomplished its task rapidly and completely. In more than two thousand combats, great and small, within three years, it has exhibited unvarying courage and resolution. Utilizing the lessons of the Indian wars it has relentlessly followed the guerrilla bands to their fastness in mountain and jungle, and crushed them. It has put an end to the vast system of intimidation and secret assassination, by which the peaceful natives were prevented from taking a genuine part in government under American authority. It has captured or forced to surrender substantially all the leaders of the insurrection. It has submitted to no discouragement and halted at no obstacle. Its officers have shown high qualities of command, and its men have shown devotion and discipline. Its splendid virile energy has been accompanied by self-control, patience, and magnanimity.

Humanity and Kindness.—With surprisingly few individual exceptions its course has been characterized by humanity and kind-

nem to the prisoner and the noncombatant. With admirable good temper, sympathy, and loyalty to American ideals its commanding generals have joined with the civilian agents of the Government in healing the wounds of war and assuring to the people of the Philippines the blessings of peace and prosperity. Individual liberty, protection of personal rights, civil order, public instruction, and religious freedom have followed its footsteps. It has added honor to the flag, which it defended, and has justified increased confidence in the future of the American people, whose soldiers do not shrink from labor or death, yet love liberty and peace.

The President feels that he expresses the sentiments of all the loyal people of the United States in doing honor to the whole Army which has joined in the performance and shares in the credit of these honorable services.

This general order will be read aloud at parade in every military post on the 4th day of July, 1902, or on the first day after it shall have been received.

ELIHU ROOT,
Secretary of War.

By command of Lieutenant-General Miles:

H. C. CORBIN,
Adjutant-General, Major-General, U. S. A.

Pacification Complete.—Acting Governor Wright sent the following cablegram from Manila to Secretary Root, July 3, 1902:

"Provincial government was inaugurated in Laguna on July 1, thus completing the establishment of civil government over all the civilized people of the archipelago. Acceptance of American authority and general pacification complete. I beg to offer congratulations to you and through you to the President on the success of the wise and humane policy inaugurated by President McKinley and continued by President Roosevelt.

Governor Taft's estimate of the work accomplished in the Philippines by Secretary Root is set forth in the following personal telegram from the former, who was in Rome:

"**SECRETARY OF WAR, Washington:**

"Referring to telegram from your office of 2d instant, congratulate you on accomplishment of most important step in your great work of constructing satisfactory civil government in the Philippine Islands. None but those acting under you can fully know the debt the country owes to you for the courage and original constructive genius involved in drafting instructions of April, 1900, and forming

civil government without a precedent under President's undefined authority as military commander-in-chief, almost within the sphere of war. It should furnish convincing proof to Filipinos of benefit of general peace under American sovereignty."

We are in the Philippines. Our flag is there; our boys in blue are there. They are not there for conquest; they are not there for dominion. They are there because in the providence of God, who moves mysteriously, that great archipelago has been placed in the hands of the American people.—President McKinley, at Youngstown, Ohio, October 18, 1899.

All hostilities will cease in the Philippines when those who commenced them stop; and they will not cease until our flag, representing liberty, humanity, and civilization, shall float triumphantly in every island of the archipelago under the acknowledged sovereignty of the United States.—President McKinley, at Racine, Wis., October 17, 1899.

We will not take down that flag, representing liberty to the people, representing civilization to those islands; we will not withdraw it, because the territory over which it floats is ours by every tenet of international law and by the sacred sanction of a treaty made in accordance with the Constitution of the United States.—President McKinley, at Waterloo, Iowa, October 16, 1899.

This subject of expansion is not a new one. It was the gospel of the early statesmen and patriots of this country. It found substantial realization in the magnificent achievement of that illustrious statesman, Thomas Jefferson. It was the dream of Marcy. In 1853 he sought to acquire the Hawaiian Islands. It was the dream of Seward; it was the dream of Douglas.—President McKinley, at Madison, Wis., October 16, 1899.

In the Philippines we have brought peace, and we are at this moment giving them such freedom and self-government as they could never under any conceivable conditions have obtained had we turned them loose to sink into a welter of blood and confusion, or to become the prey of some strong tyranny without or within. The bare recital of the facts is sufficient to show that we did our duty; and what prouder title to honor can a nation have than to have done its duty? We have done our duty to ourselves, and we have done the higher duty of promoting the civilization of mankind.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

CONDITIONS OF PEACE.

GOVERNOR TAFT AND CIVIL GOVERNORS OF PROVINCES TESTIFY TO A GENERAL CONDITION OF PEACE IN THE ARCHIPELAGO.

Governor Taft, the other members of the Philippines Commission, and the civil governors in the Christianized Filipino provinces, have testified to the conditions of peace in the Philippines. President Roosevelt has accepted this testimony as warranting him in proclaiming the supremacy of the civil authority and the subordination of the military authority in the archipelago. He has also proclaimed a general amnesty which includes Aguinaldo and all other leaders of the insurrection, against whom there are not specific charges of willful crime outside the category of political offenses in time of war. The Democrats in Congress have sought to create the impression that the insurrection is not ended, and they have by their speeches done what they could to encourage a continuation of the resistance against the authority of this Government. The President has, however, acted on the evidence presented by those who are in position to know the conditions in the Philippines, and also in accord with the policy of the Republican party, declared in the beginning by President McKinley that the Filipinos should have the largest measure of self-government consistent with peace and good order.

When Governor Taft appeared before the Insular Committee of the House of Representatives, February 21, 1902, he said there were thirty-one provinces pacified and civilly organized, and but two of the Christian Filipino provinces where the insurrection still continued. These were the provinces of Tayabas and Batangas. Since that date these two provinces have been pacified and organized with civil governments. Governor Taft's testimony on this point is important.

Governor Taft's Testimony.—"The insurrection continues in Batangas, in Laguna, and in Tayabas; in Tayabas and Laguna because they are neighbors of Batangas. * * * In Samar the insurrection continues.

"These are the four provinces in which there are insurrectos. There are no other insurrectos anywhere else in the archipelago, unless twenty-five or thirty rifles under the command of a man named Rufino, in Misamis, the province which we organized in northern Mindanao, can be considered an insurrecto. In my judg-

ment he is nothing but a ladrone. There are, I suppose, some few insurrectos in Mindoro, though they seem to have been so thoroughly scattered, after their chief was captured, that nothing is heard from them, they have disappeared into the marshy miasmatic places of Mindoro, and not appearing, the presumption is that they are dead, because that is such an unhealthy climate.

"In northern Luzon, for instance, in the province of Rizal and in the province of Bataan, the province of Pampanga, a part of the province of Zambales, and the province of Pangasinan and Benguet and La Union, there is a completely pacified condition, and it is safe for the county officers, Americans, engaged in collecting taxes, to go from one town to another without any escort.

"The same thing is true of Ilocos Sur and Ilocos Norte and Abra and Cayan, and probably in Isabela, except on this side (indicating), where there are some Igorrote robbers.

"The same thing is true of Albay and of Sorsogon. In Ambos Camarines there must be some ladronism in this neighborhood, though the governor reports that things are clearing up and that the conditions are very favorable.

"In Masbate there is complete peace, in Romblon there is complete peace, and as to the island of Panay, General Hughes, who is here, and who left the islands only two weeks after I did, reports that he would not hesitate to take a horse and drive all over Panay without an escort and without arms. He says the same thing of Cebu, and I have reports from the governor of Cebu, handed me this morning, which say that there is complete peace there.

"In Negros, which, singularly enough, has never had any insurrection in it, because the Filipino leaders adopted a form of government under General Otis and excluded insurrection, there is probably more trouble than in any other island. That grows out of the fact that there is this spine—this mountain spine—which runs down between here (indicating) and is covered with an impassable forest, and is the home of what is called the Babylanes or mountaineers, under a man who sometimes appears as a religious leader and then as the head of a robber trust, almost, for there are as many as 1,500 or 2,000 men ready to come at his bidding at anytime, and go down to reap the harvest from the rich sugar haciendas that lie on the west side of Negros, and hemp and rice plantations on the east side in oriental Negros.

"In Bohol, as I said, there has not as yet been a restoration of civil government."

The following reports from the civil governors of the provinces bear out Governor Taft's testimony. The majority of these provincial governors are native Filipinos.

ILOCOS, NORTE, *December 17, 1901.*

The law is complied with in a peaceful manner. Violations of law so far occurred through deceit and impositions on part of people of other provinces.

AGBAYANI, *Governor.*

PROVINCE OF RIZAL, PASIG, RIZAL,

December 18, 1901.

In almost all the towns the justice courts are already in operation. The court of first instance has been established since July 11, 1901. Peace in Rizal is complete. All inhabitants are in favor of the civil government and devoted to American sovereignty. Highway-men, who formerly operated in various places in Morong, have been driven out. The census is almost completed, and, from present information, the number of persons estimated at 140,000. Municipal autonomy is executed with sufficient force.

Means to establish the land tax progressing satisfactorily, and it is not likely that it will offer any particular difficulty in the completion. Provincial accounts, which showed in the months of July and August the province was in debt, have shown a balance of \$3,833.77 gold on December 1, 1901, after payment to the municipalities the portion due to them. Suffrage, according to municipal code, has been exercised satisfactorily. * * * *General state of the roads demand much expense for repairs, but the peace and disposition of the province give promise of progressive prosperity.*

FLORES, *Governor.*

PROVINCE OF PAMPANGA, BACOLOR, P. I.,

December 17, 1901.

At the present time this province is in the most peaceful condition. Many of the natives are highly educated, and since the introduction of the public schools under the United States Government a great improvement is noticed among the lower classes.

The finances of the province, as shown by the report of the provincial treasurer, show a balance in hand of over \$26,000 United States currency, with outstanding indebtedness of less than \$3,000 United States currency.

Roads and bridges throughout the province are in fairly good condition, and work in same is being pushed as rapidly as possible.

A few remaining malefactors and bandits in this province are being constantly traced and captured by the insular police. I believe that this province is in better condition than ever before, and

under the present system of government will continue to improve, as affording an opportunity and inspiration to develop its resources.

Very respectfully,

C. JOVEN,

Governor, Province of Pampanga.

PROVINCE OF BULACAN, MALALOS, BULACAN, P. I.,

December 18, 1901.

The province of Bulacan, under my charge, presents, politically considered, a sublime idea of its sincere gratitude and loyalty to the Government of the United States of America in the Philippine archipelago.

I am justified in this statement by that very revolutionary spirit shown by the province in past times, and the readiness with which the inhabitants recognized the laudable intentions of the Government of the great North American nation in regard to this country and the urgent need for becoming thoroughly penetrated with the transcendent importance of peace, being convinced that only under peace can the welfare and uplifting of the Philippines under American rule be effected.

In fact, scarcely a month has passed by since the establishment of civil rule in this province *under the most liberal laws yet known in this country*, when the most bitter of the revolutionary chiefs still in the mountains of Angat, Norzagary, and San Miguel de Mayumo, like the ex-Colonels Tecson and Morales and ex-General Torres, presented themselves before the authorities and took the oath of fealty and allegiance to American sovereignty.

From that time the province of Bulacan has been enjoying an unbroken peace, and its inhabitants, contented beyond measure with the establishment of civil rule in the Philippines, are doing all they can to strengthen that peace as a necessary basis for their happiness, thus showing their appreciation of the Government, which now so wisely rules the destinies of this country.

In view of the facts above set forth, I do not hesitate to assure the stability of the peace now enjoyed by this province, *which gladly places in the hands of the great and noble North American nation the future of these islands.*

JOSE SERAPIO, Provincial Governor.

PROVINCE OF UNION, SAN FERNANDO,

December 17, 1901.

The province is perfectly peaceful, and this condition has existed for over a year. People are at work in the fields and at their various

professions. Civil government is accepted on every side, and there is no possible reason to think that they will ever change in this feeling under the present form of government.

OTEGO, Governor.

PROVINCE OF ISABELA, December 20, 1901.

No armed insurgents heard of in province for six months. * * * Cagayan Valley completely tranquillized; no escorts now used by civil officers. * * * Troops recently evacuated six cities. Police and citizens guard each night. No disorder or crime yet reported. * * * Nine cities without American teachers. * * * People friendly to American Government. Province safe and quiet as any State in the Union.

JOHNSTON,

Captain, Sixth Infantry, Governor.

PROVINCE OF ILOCOS SUR, December 16, 1901.

Since the surrender of General Tinio, with all his forces, who was carrying on the insurrection in this province, and of Father Aglipay, also with all his men in that part of Ilocos Norte, in the month of May last, this province under my command has been completely pacified, and from that time until the present all the pueblos have enjoyed the tranquillity and personal security of normal times before the outbreak of the insurrection against Spain. * * * All the people are peacefully following their customary occupations to the extent that no one any longer remembers the war, save through the newspaper reports of engagements and skirmishes taking place in the provinces of Laguna and Balangos, and others in the southern islands.

M. CRISOLOGO, Governor.

PROVINCE OF AMBOS CAMARINES, December 19, 1901.

Population about 250,000; 32 organized towns; authority been requested to organize remainder of former towns; province in perfect state of pacification. Two small bands insurgents surrendered last September; since then no insurgent or hostile element in province. This condition is permanent so far as people of province concerned. No doubt sentiment is for continued peace and confidence intentions American Government. *Travel on all roads and to most distant interior points perfectly safe. I recently spent two nights in interior town with my family unguarded, where a year ago a company of soldiers would have been necessary.* Crime rare, and scarcely any trouble from

ladrones. Only trouble in this line from occasional depredations by mountain tribes, which can be stopped by additions to armament of police.

Military force been greatly reduced, and towns formerly occupied by large garrisons now have but small detachments or abandoned entirely. Further reductions can be made, and recommend that it be done and troops taken from all towns, and, if kept in province, be placed in quarters outside towns. * * * Fair interest shown in recent municipal elections; no party lines except that candidates supposed to hold "Nationalista" views were defeated by a large majority. *Thirty-two American teachers in province, covering seventeen towns.* Good attendance and interest in schools. *Night schools for adults well attended, and desire to learn English everywhere evident. Twenty more teachers needed.* * * * Commerce and trade active, and said to be much more so than ever in Spanish time. Much building in larger towns; INCREASING DEMAND FOR AMERICAN GOODS. While writing above General Grant informs me that he has recommended the withdrawal of eight companies of troops from this province, and expects soon to recommend withdrawal of eight more.

JAMES ROSS,
Governor, Ambos Camarines.

PROVINCE OF TARLAC, December 16, 1901.

There has been no interruption of the peace of the province since its organization under the provincial government act. The Philippine constabulary made several arrests in Moneada the first days of November for secretly meeting and conspiring to attack the troops. *The trial is now in progress.* * * * I was well received in towns in that part of the province recently visited, and expressions of desire for peace were numerous and seemingly earnest and sincere. I think this desire prevails.

* * * * *

The provincial government act and municipal code are working well. The amendments made from time to time have been timely and acceptable.

The crops are good this year.

Taxes are collected without difficulty, and the income exceeds expenditures thus far.

The supervisors of the various provinces interested have met to consider defense against river inundation.

WALLIS O. CLARK,
Captain, Twelfth Infantry, Provincial Governor.

PROVINCE OF ALBAY, *December 9, 1901.*

A few days after establishment of civil government here, General Belarmino presented himself, with his entire force, and from that time to the present the peace of the province has not been disturbed. * * * A few Tagal leaders came into the province recently from Manila with the hope of renewing trouble in this province, but the people were so thoroughly opposed to any further disturbances of the peace that there was not the slightest trouble in apprehending them before they were able to accomplish anything. * * * I am informed by the leading citizens that there never was a time in the history of the province when it was in so prosperous a condition as it is at present. Every man in the province who desires to work has plenty to do, and it is very seldom one sees a beggar on the streets. * * * Some idea of the enormous business done here at present can be had from the fact that in the town of Legaspi alone over \$1,000,000 changes hands every thirty days. * * * Schools have been organized in all pueblos and a greater part of the Barrios. The nineteen leading pueblos in the province now have American instructors, and the progress they are making is exceptionally gratifying.

A. U. BETTS, *Governor.*

PROVINCE OF ILOILO, *December 20, 1901.*

That as regards peace and order, it may be asserted that this province of Iloilo has no cause to envy any other province in the archipelago. The civil rule established here has satisfied the people and completed the work of pacification commenced by the military government. It may be asserted that the people, convinced of the advantages of this rule, have forgotten all the past in order to think only of their advancement materially, morally, and politically.

MARTIN DELGADO, *Governor.*

PROVINCE OF CAVITE, *December 17, 1901.*

During the trip I have been making up to date to the mountain towns of this province of Cavite, organizing municipalities, I feel that I ought to entertain no doubt of the desire for peace entertained by all its inhabitants.

In this trip I have taken steps to bring about the surrender of some small armed groups—the wake, as it were, of the revolutionary forces already surrendered, which, though they still continue under arms, have no political color, and the proof of this is that they

devote themselves solely to holding up native traders to get their money. And from the steps I have taken I am in hopes that within a few days all these small armed parties, that are nothing more than highwaymen, will present themselves with all their arms.

I can also assure you of the peace and order in my province, and that the civil authorities, with the constabulary forces, will be sufficient to maintain and preserve them.

MARIANO TRIAS, *Provincial Governor.*

PROVINCE OF ZAMBALES, December 16, 1901.

* * * Ever since the ex-Nationalistic General Mascardo surrendered, there is no repetition of these sad events, and the whole province, as though by magic, is animated to make up with interest their losses by devoting themselves with greater energy and ardor than heretofore to labor, not only because it has returned to its normal and peaceful life, but also by reason of the content and enthusiasm it feels through the implanting of the civil rule and the establishment of several schools for the teaching of the English tongue in many pueblos of the province. The whole of the latter may now be traveled without any personal or material risk whatever, and without the protection of an armed force. *So true is this that the inhabitants of the pueblo of Macabebe, province of Pampanga, who, it is well known, are hated by the Nationals, come and go from that province to this one freely, without anything happening to them on the road, carrying to and selling in the different pueblos and barrios, as they did during the former domination, their native cloths, made in different places. The children of both sexes, as never before, devote themselves with ardor, application, and profit to the study of the English language.*

PROTENCIANO LESACA, *Provincial Governor.*

PROVINCE OF PANGASINAN, December 17, 1901.

* * * Since civil regime has been established the inhabitants enjoy perfect tranquillity and comfort, and their conditions are growing better each day under the new regime.

Peace is so well established that it never has been disturbed in the slightest.

Very respectfully,

P. SISON, *Provincial Governor.*

PROVINCE OF SORSOGON.

I personally have just returned from an overland trip, visiting all of the towns south of Sorsogon and passing through the wildest and roughest part of the country. *The trip was made without a guard,* and in all the towns and barrios the spirit of the people seemed to be the best. * * * I can now begin to see some results of our work and instruction in this direction, and the municipal officers and some of the more intelligent of the people are beginning to realize that they have a further responsibility to their country and the Government than remaining passively inactive and watching the Americans put down uprisings.

J. G. LIVINGSTON, *Governor.*

PROVINCE OF BATAN, *December 16, 1901.*

In my opinion this province is free from any taint of insurrection and will always remain so. It has been without the aid of military for many months. * * * English is being taught in the towns in the province. The public schools are encouraged and aided by the people and the officials with one exception, the attendance being larger than the limited number of teachers can instruct with best results.

J. H. GOLDMAN, *Governor.*

PROVINCE OF NUEVA ECIJA.

The people of the pueblos display considerable interest in their local governments, but the ignorance of the first principles of self-government is surprising. Much time and patience will be necessary, with constant instruction before at all satisfactory results are obtained.

J. F. KREPS, *Governor.*

PROVINCE OF LEYTE.

I have the honor to report that the peace conditions of this province are fairly satisfactory. * * * Out of 50 towns in the province 44 have been organized under the municipal code and are exhibiting gratifying results in the management of their municipal affairs. * * * That the great majority of the people are happy and contented with their present condition is evidenced by the renewed activity displayed in all branches of industry. * * * There are 36 American teachers on duty in the province, all of whom are doing excellent work.

J. H. GRANT, *Governor.*

PROVINCE OF CAPIZ, PANAY ISLANDS.

By the month of September the pueblos began to recover their normal condition, and now all evidence of their misfortune has disappeared. * * * Trade is little by little returning to what it was during its best times.

S. JUGO VIDAL, *Governor.*

PROVINCE OF ABRA.

Civil government was established September 1, since which time we have been busy reorganizing the several pueblos. *All men are hard at work planting and building. No ladrones; very slight breaches of the peace. Safe for all to travel anywhere.* Province is poor and needs assistance, money for roads being the first requirement. Industrial schools recommended; also sawmills, gristmills, etc. Schools in prosperous condition; the people seem contented and happy, and will remain so unless some hot-head for personal reasons inaugurates strife. The people of Abra are a class of themselves.

BOWEN, *Provincial Governor.*

BOAC, MARINDUQUE.

Marinduque is enjoying peace, happiness, and prosperity, so that American officers and civilians travel through the province alone and unarmed, as they would in their own country. Marinduque is engaged in peaceful avocations, and sincerely loves America and has faith and confidence in the future.

PARAS, *Governor.*

TAGUEGARAO, CAGAYAN.

Peaceable condition of province is general and thoroughly established, which can be understood by contemplating the enthusiastic reception made to me at all towns where I hold municipal elections. People are very favorable to establishment of civil government and very obedient to the United States.

Provincial Governor.

MASBATE, ISLAND OF MASBATE, P. I.

The province of Masbate is in a perfect state of peace. No crime of any character has been committed within its border for many months. The people are all hard at work trying to improve their condition. The police absolutely cover the territory and know all that is going on. Their reports are most encouraging.

GEORGE LANDER, *Supervisor.*

Captain W. A. Holbrook, civil governor of the province of Antique, reports: "Everywhere the people expressed themselves as satisfied with the present rule. * * * Schools are generally established and marked progress is being made."

William F. Pack, governor of Mindoro, reported December 26, 1901: "Everything peaceful in this province. * * * Sentiment favorable to Americans."

Bonifacio Serrano, governor of Masbate, reported December 23, 1901: "Perfect peace is enjoyed in the whole province."

M. Gonzaga, governor of Cagayan, reported December 18, 1901: "A sincere proof of the affection and the good will of the people toward the constituted government is their desire to learn English."

S. Locsin, civil governor of Occidental Negros, reported December 19, 1901: "Small bands of robbers continued to disturb the peace. These men declared themselves revolutionists, but they were only ladrones preying upon the people."

Julio Llorente, governor of Cebu, reported: "Absolute peace everywhere; nearly all pueblos organized."

Potenciano Lesaca, governor of Zambales, reported that the people "see with the greatest satisfaction that the funds which they contribute * * * are not diverted from their legitimate object."

Governor Taft, in his testimony before the Committee of Insular Affairs of the House, said that the Commission had organized municipal governments in about 800 towns in the island; some of them outside the provinces under civil government.

Our flag is there, not as the symbol of oppression, not as the token of tyranny, not as the emblem of enslavement, but representing there, as it does here, liberty, humanity, and civilization.—President McKinley, at Youngstown, Ohio, October 18, 1899.

The Philippines are ours, and American authority must be supreme throughout the archipelago. There will be amnesty broad and liberal, but no abatement of our rights; no abandonment of our duty.—President McKinley to Notification Committee, July 12, 1900.

That the Army is not at all a mere instrument of destruction has been shown during the last three years. In the Philippines, Cuba, and Porto Rico it has proved itself a great constructive force, a most potent implement for the upbuilding of a peaceful civilization.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

CONDUCT OF THE ARMY.

OUR SOLDIERS TREATED FILIPINOS WITH KINDNESS AND WON THEIR CONFIDENCE.

The Democrats in the Senate insisted on an investigation into the conduct of the war in the Philippines, and the resolution for such an investigation was adopted by the Senate in January. The Democrats sought to so direct that investigation as to make it an attack upon the troops in the Philippines. That investigation continued for several months, and the testimony taken fills 3,000 pages of printed report. This testimony shows that the American officers and troops treated insurgent prisoners with kindness, gave them the same food as they had themselves, shared their hospitals with the sick Filipinos, who were treated by the same army surgeons.

President Schurman Praised the Army.—The first Philippine Commission offered voluntary testimony as to the conduct of the Army in the Philippines. President Schurman, of Cornell University, wrote that report:

"The Commission is not willing to close this statement without paying just tribute to our sailors and soldiers. The presence of Admiral Dewey as a member of this body makes it unfitting to dwell on his personal achievements, but he joins with us in eulogy of his comrades. We were fortunate in witnessing some of the many brave deeds of our soldiers. All that skill, courage, and patient endurance can do has been done in the Philippines.

"We are aware that there are those who have seen fit to accuse our troops of desecrating churches, murdering prisoners, and committing unmentionable crimes. To those who derive satisfaction from seizing on isolated occurrences—regrettable, indeed, but incident to every war—and making them the basis of sweeping accusations, this Commission has nothing to say. Still less do we feel called upon to answer idle tales without foundation in fact. But for the satisfaction of those who have found it difficult to understand why the transporting of American citizens across the Pacific Ocean should change their nature, we are glad to express the belief that *a war was never more humanely conducted. Insurgents wounded were repeatedly succored on the field by our men at the risk of their lives.*

"Those who had a chance for life were taken to Manila and tenderly cared for in our hospitals. If churches were occupied it was

only as a military necessity, and frequently after their use as forts by the insurgents had made it necessary to train our artillery upon them. Prisoners were taken whenever opportunity offered, often only to be set at liberty after being disarmed and fed."

Governor Taft's Judgment.—Governor Taft, who left the United States Circuit Court bench to accept the position as head of the second Philippine Commission, and who has been two years in the Philippines, testified before the committee as to the conduct of the Army. He said:

"After a good deal of study about the matter—and, although I have never been prejudiced in favor of the military branch, for when the civil and military branches are exercising concurrent jurisdiction there is some inevitable friction—I desire to say that it is my deliberate judgment that there never was a war conducted, whether against inferior races or not, in which there were more compassion and more restraint and more generosity, assuming that there was a war at all, than there has been in the Philippine Islands. Now, I say that without having been in the war at all, having only been at Manila, where reports were constantly coming in and where I was talking with officers of the Army, and knew what the general orders were and what the general policy was."

General Arthur MacArthur, one of the first general officers to go to the Philippines, who afterwards succeeded General Otis as commander-in-chief and governor-general of the Philippines, also testified on this point before the committee.

General MacArthur's Praise.—General MACARTHUR. "I would like to say this—I thought I had made a note of it: That in my judgment, from an intimate knowledge of military operations of the islands, from the operations against the Spanish in Manila, until I left the islands on the 4th of July, 1901, I doubt if any war—either international or civil—any war on earth has been conducted with as much humanity, with as much careful consideration, with as much self-restraint, in view of the character of our adversary, as have been the American operations in the Philippine archipelago.

* * * * *

"There have been in the neighborhood, I think, of 125,000 men and soldiers in the islands. Some of those men have committed excesses under the provocation of hardship. That is not mentioned as an excuse, but as a cause. Wherever any violations of the laws of war have been detected the remedy has been instantly applied. It was my own purpose to promulgate views in orders, by personal admonition, and by punitive action; but of course in conducting war all of the ferocity of humanity is brought to the surface, and in individual instances excesses have been committed.

"But to say that the Army commits excesses, or that excesses were

encouraged, of course is to say that the character of Americans in the Philippines is immediately transformed by the question of latitude and longitude, which is not the fact. Individual men have committed individual outrages; but when we compare the conditions that exist in the Philippines to-day in that respect with what have existed in all modern wars between civilized states *the comparison is absolutely in favor of the self-restraint and high discipline of the American soldier.*"

General MacArthur also said soldiers had been detailed as teachers in the schools for the Filipinos, and that the Filipinos often requested such details. The soldiers were enthusiastic and successful teachers.

When General MacArthur was in command of the Second Division, Eighth Army Corps, with headquarters at Malolos, he issued the following order April 2, 1899:

"1. Many of the citizens of Malolos and other towns in the vicinity desire to return to their abandoned homes within the lines of the Army.

"The interests of the United States will be subserved by encouraging this disposition on the part of the natives in every way consistent with military interests.

"All officers and soldiers are therefore urged to contribute to the end in view by considerate and kind treatment of these people, who are now part of and under the protection of the United States.

"The controlling insurgent authorities have persistently represented the American soldiers as turbulent, undisciplined, and given to gross and licentious excesses upon helpless people.

"In order to eradicate the effects of such mendacious misrepresentations, it is especially necessary that all concerned should sedulously abstain from practices in any way calculated to annoy or engender the feelings of timidity or mistrust.

"Unarmed natives will be permitted to enter our lines at all times during the day, with a view to the resumption of their usual avocations and occupancy of their houses.

"By command of Major-General MacArthur."

GENERALS OTIS AND HUGHES.

General Hughes was another witness before the Philippines Committee.

General HUGHES, "*I have no hesitation in saying that so far as I know, the same consideration was shown the Filipino when he was captured or wounded that was given to our own people when captured or wounded in the civil war. We have carried them by our carriers for miles; we have carried them two days to get them where they could get hospital treatment; we have carried them for a day to get them to a hospital. I remember one case in Antique where the man was shot*

through the head, and I asked the officer what he intended to do with him. He said, 'I am going to put him in the hospital.' Said I, 'He will run away unless you watch him.' Sure enough, inside of forty-eight hours that man got up and ran away."

General Otis, who succeeded General Merritt in command in the Philippines in the summer of 1898, and remained as governor-general until 1900, was called to testify on this point. Senator Beveridge asked the General as to the practice of our troops toward the Filipinos. He replied:

General OTIS. "*The greatest kindness.* I investigated myself, and through inspectors appointed by me, every statement of harsh treatment that I heard of while in the islands. In some cases the investigation was pursued for weeks. * * * We put the sick and wounded in our own hospitals. When our own hospitals were filled we hired the hospitals of the friars within the walled town. They were all taken care of. We hired doctors when we did not have sufficient medical assistance of our own. We hired Filipino doctors and Spanish doctors and looked after the sick and wounded of the Filipinos, and they received every care possible. In fact, one of the commissions—one of Aguinaldo's commissions—came in while we had a great many of the Filipinos in the hospital, and I invited the members of the commission to go around and visit all their sick and wounded throughout the city; and they did so, and came back and expressed themselves as greatly gratified."

Senator PROCTOR. "You do not think, General, on the whole, that the character of the American Army, so far as common humanity is concerned, has changed entirely in a year or two's service over there, I judge?"

General OTIS. "No, sir. *We were laughed at by the Spaniards and by Europeans for the humanity we exercised.*"

Other Soldiers Testify.—Isadore H. Dube, a private soldier, was called before the committee by the Democrats to testify to cruelties, practiced against the natives. He said General Hughes's orders were "To treat them—the sympathizers—with kindness, and to be an example of what Americanism was."

Grover Flint was called as a witness because he had said he knew of cruelties. He was asked as to the care of prisoners by the American soldiers, and replied: "I think it was most excellent." As to the conduct of the soldiers toward the peaceable Filipinos, Mr. Flint said: "I think it was as kind as you could make it in every case—that is, I never saw any other spirit."

D. J. Evans was another soldier called as a witness, and when asked about the treatment of Filipino prisoners, said: "They were fed, and if there was any work to be done they had to do it; but they were treated up to the time the water cure was commenced as

well as they could be. Some of the Filipino prisoners actually preferred to remain in the American lines, prisoners, than to be among their own people." He also said the Filipino sick were treated in our hospitals by our surgeons and attended by our nurses. He was asked about the treatment of the people engaged in peaceable pursuits and replied:

"They were never molested if they seemed to be peaceable natives. They would not be molested unless they showed some signs of hostility of some kind, and if they did—if we struck a part of the island where the natives were hostile and they would fire on our soldiers or even cut the telegraph lines—the result would be that their barrios would probably be burned."

Q. After our troops had passed over a district, what is the fact as to the people returning to the fields and engaging in the business of tilling the soil, returning to their homes after peace had been established?

A. "As far as I could see we would not much more than get through a town until you would see the natives coming back from the hills carrying little white flags on sticks. As we struck a town we could not see a native hardly, but when we got 200 or 300 or 500 yards beyond the town we could see them coming in with these white flags."

Capt. Jesse Lee Hall was asked the same questions and replied: "Well, we fed them and let them go. We paroled them as a usual thing. We took good care of them and dressed their wounds if they were wounded. If sick they got as good treatment as our own men received. If I ever took a man as a guide, under the directions of General Schwan, I always paid him; and we always paid for chickens and everything else we got. *Every horse we took I know was paid for.* I would always give a receipt, if I could find the owner, and commissions came around afterwards to settle up."

LeRoy E. Halloch was called as a witness and said: "They (the prisoners) were put in the guardhouse and made to do some little work. They always had plenty of rice to eat, and hard-tack they gave them sometimes, and coffee." He said the orders of the officers were to treat the natives well, and the soldiers obeyed these orders.

William Lewis Smith was another soldier called to testify to the water cure and other cruelties, and he said the prisoners were treated well and fed from the same rations as the American soldiers, and given the same treatment in the hospitals if sick or wounded.

Swift Punishment for Acts of Cruelty.—It was sought to show that the American soldiers in the Philippines had adopted the Spanish torture known as the "water cure" and had administered that to the natives. Several private soldiers testified to having seen the water cure administered to natives to compel them to reveal the

place where they had hidden their arms. Not one of these cases occurred within a year from the date of the investigation. They were all at the time the insurgents were most active in their hostility toward the American Government, and attacking the American soldiers from ambush. In every case where there was a complaint against an American officer or soldiers there followed an investigation and a court-martial.

More than 350 courts-martial have been held in the Philippines for great and small offenses. There were many and severe punishments, more severe than usual, to impress upon the soldiers the necessity for treating with the utmost consideration the natives of the Philippines, even though these natives were cruel and treacherous beyond the conception of civilized people, and show the beneficent purposes of the United States Government. And the records show that the soldiers as a rule acted in harmony with the policy of the Government, and were most considerate of the natives. They won the friendship of the natives who desired to live in peace and pursue their occupations. They opened schools and taught the children; they aided the people in establishing and conducting municipal and village governments; they taught them the ways of civilization and self-government. They were so successful that the insurgents made war on their own people to prevent them from accepting American Government.

The records show that 350 natives were assassinated for sympathizing with the Americans, and 442 were assaulted and mutilated for the same reason. The number of native municipal officers who were assassinated for sympathizing with the Americans and accepting office were 67, and 40 others were assaulted and nearly killed to compel them to prove treacherous.

Natives Ask Soldiers to Remain.—There is other testimony to the good conduct of the Army in the Philippines. This is the evidence of peaceful communities of Filipinos. The municipal council of Davao, Mindanao, on January 25, 1901, sent to General MacArthur, the military governor of the Philippines, a petition for the retention of Major Liggett and his command, in which was this statement:

"Major Liggett is well liked and a very popular person in this town, especially among the savages who inhabit the woods. He has impressed in the hearts of all the well meaning of the benevolent American nation in such a manner that the inhabitants fraternize with the Americans, and to-day they are very sorry when they learned that the soldiers were soon to be relieved.

"The opening of the roads, the formation of the municipal council, the arranging of the numerous races of people that dwell in district naturally need a commander as just, strict, and of the vledge of Major Liggett.

"It is unnecessary to remind you that while the work taken up by the Americans here remains unfinished it is necessary that white troops should remain here for its protection, and we hope that you will intercede for us to the proper authorities that the soldiers who are going to leave be replaced by others of equality; that is to say, whites and no others; these being preferable for their impartiality, which is necessary to exercise in a town of inferior races like these."

There were similar requests from the presidente and citizens of Bonvaban, in the province of Nueva Ecija, for the retention of the troops stationed at that place; from the native municipal officers of Pulilan, in the province of Bulacan; from those at Villasis and Binan, Laguna province; Apalit, in the province of Pampanga; Guinan, in the province of Samar; Bulacan, the pueblo of Loboc, in the province of Batangas, and from Zamboanga, signed by the Dato Mandi, the presidente, four mayors, four justices of the peace, and fifty principals. There were like petitions from nearly all the pueblos where American troops were stationed.

These were testimonials to the conduct of the American troops from the poor Filipinos who are governed without their consent.

A Victorious Army.—Senator Lodge, in his speech on the Philippines bill, May 5, spoke of the attack on the Army, and gave the reason.

"Why this attack upon the Army? Because, it is said, it has been guilty of cruelty and torture to natives of the Philippine Islands. Ah, yes, Mr. President, perhaps so; but it has been guilty of a greater crime than that. It has been guilty of a crime not yet brought against it upon this floor, but which rankles deeper than all the tortures and all the cruelties laid to its charge—it has been guilty of the crime of success. It has been a victorious Army; it has put down the insurrection, and it meets now, as it met after Appomattox, abuse and attack. The days have dropped into history when Grant, too, was called a 'butcher,' but they are not forgotten. This charge is brought now against the Army of the United States because they have been victorious, because they have crushed the insurrection and disappointed those who sympathize with the insurgents. That is one reason for the assault upon our soldiers, and that is a sin for which in some quarters no forgiveness is possible.

It is not possible that seventy-five millions of American free-men are unable to establish liberty and justice and good government in our new possessions. (Continued applause.) The burden is our opportunity. The opportunity is greater than the burden.—President McKinley to Ohio Society of New York, March 3, 1900.

CONCENTRATION CAMPS.

TO PROTECT PEACEFUL NATIVES FROM LADRONES—NO STARVATION—FED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

Concentration camps in the Philippines have been much discussed by the Democrats, and some information on this point was brought out in the investigation by the Philippines Committee of the Senate.

General J. Franklin Bell gave the order for "reconcentration" in the provinces of Tayabas, Balangas, and Laguna. This is the order:

GENERAL BELL'S CONCENTRATION ORDER.

"BATANGAS, December 8, 1901.

"To all Station Commanders:

"In order to put an end to enforced contributions now levied by insurgents upon the inhabitants of sparsely settled and outlying barrios and districts by means of intimidation and assassination, commanding officers of all towns now existing in the provinces of Batangas and Laguna, including those at which no garrison is stationed at present, will immediately specify and establish plainly-marked limits surrounding each town bounding a zone within which it may be practicable with an average sized garrison, to exercise efficient supervision over and furnish protection to inhabitants (who desire to be peaceful) against the depredations of armed insurgents. These limits may include the barrios which exist sufficiently near the town to be given protection and supervision by the garrison, and should include some ground on which live stock could graze, but so situated that it can be patrolled and watched. All ungarrisoned towns will be garrisoned as soon as troops become available.

"Commanding officers will also see that orders are at once given and distributed to all the inhabitants within the jurisdiction of towns over which they exercise supervision, informing them of the danger of remaining outside of these limits, and that unless they move by December 25 from outlying barrios and districts with all their movable food supplies, including rice, palay, chickens, live stock, etc., to within the limits of the zone established at their own or nearest town, their property (found outside of said zone at said date) will become liable to confiscation or destruction. The people will be permitted to move houses from outlying districts should they desire to do so, or to construct temporary shelter for themselves on any vacant land without compensation to the owner,

and no owner will be permitted to deprive them of the privilege of doing so.

In the discretion of commanding officers the prices of necessities of existence may also be regulated in the interest of those thus seeking protection.

As soon as peaceful conditions have been reestablished in the brigade these persons will be encouraged to return to their homes and such assistance be rendered them as may be found practicable.

J. F. BELL,

Brigadier-General, Commanding.

COLONEL WAGNER'S REPORT ON CONCENTRATION.

Colonel Arthur L. Wagner was detailed by General Wheaton to inspect the concentration camps in the Department of Northern Luzon, and his report was made last March. It is as follows:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF NORTH PHILIPPINES,

"Manila, P. I., March 22, 1902.

"SIR: I have the honor to report that, in accordance with your verbal orders, I proceeded on the 16th instant on the gunboat *Napindan* to *Calamba*, and thence overland to *Santo Tomas* and *Tanauan*, at which points I inspected the concentration camps of the natives. I inspected the camp at the former place on the 16th instant and the two camps at the latter town on the following day. On the 18th instant I returned to *Manila*.

"The camp or village at *Santo Tomas* contains about 8,000 people and covers a space about 2 miles long by 1 mile wide. The people are not unduly crowded, their houses are clean and comfortable, and the streets and grounds of the camp are well-policed and scrupulously neat. The houses are in every respect as good as those in the barrios evacuated by the natives, with the exception that in most instances they are smaller. There is, however, no uncomfortable crowding, as the native houses in this archipelago are a mere protection from sun and rain and are generally sufficiently open to allow a very free circulation of air. The people from the same barrios are quartered on the same streets, the communities being kept together and the people having the same neighbors they have been accustomed to at home.

"The health of the people in the camp at *Santo Tomas* was very good, sickness being practically nil. The camp is under the general charge of the medical officer at *Santo Tomas*, with a practicante as assistant in each barrio.

"There is sufficient food on hand to last until the 1st of May, and the reserve of palay in the church will probably provide subsistence for another month. There are plenty of pigs about the camp, though chickens are getting scarce. Many of the chickens in the barrios were not brought to the concentration camp, but were left behind, and have since become wild. Many of them will probably be available for food when the people get back to their barrios. The people will also be able to get fruits (principally bananas) in abundance, besides squashes and a species of bread fruit. The stock is allowed to graze within the dead line, and they evidently find good grazing in this space, as they seem to be in good condition.

"Care is taken to provide against fire by having sections of bamboo, filled with water, resting in a rack at each end of each barrio, and in case of a long street at convenient points between. There are also sections of bamboo filled with water resting on the roofs of nearly all the houses, two sections of bamboo being tied together and slung across the ridge pole of the roof. Hooks on long poles are also provided for the rapid demolition of houses in case of fire.

"The people in the camp at Santo Tomas had all been inspected and vaccinated.

"At Tanauan there are two camps, one, known as the north town, being approximately in the form of a square about one-third of a mile on each side. The south town covers a space about one-half of a mile long by one-third of a mile wide. There are 11 barrios in the former and 15 in the latter. In the two camps there are about 19,600 people, of which number 11,000 are in the south town and the rest in the other camp. In these camps, as in the one at Santo Tomas, each barrio is assigned to a street by itself, so that neighbors are not separated from each other.

Plenty of Food.—"There is food enough in the camps at Tanauan to last until the 31st of March—perhaps until the middle of April. The rich people have plenty of rice, which they will be compelled to sell as soon as the rice of the poor people is exhausted. It is believed that this reserve rice will be sufficient for the people until the 30th of April. Pigs and chickens are still to be seen around the camps, the former in considerable numbers, though the latter are said to have become rather scarce. The people are allowed to take their cattle out every day beyond the dead line to graze, and they are also allowed to gather forage and bring it in.

"Each barrio has an outpost marked with a flag, on the dead line. Each outpost consists of four natives, and is relieved every twenty-four hours. The outposts have orders in case they see any natives trying to go beyond the line to turn them back, and there is a saddled pony at each outpost to give warning in case anyone gets

beyond the line. While natives beyond the dead line are liable to be shot, such a measure is never resorted to if it is possible to arrest them and turn them back to the camp. No cases of shooting people passing the dead line have yet been reported, and, as nearly as I can ascertain, none have occurred. In the church and inclosure at Tanauan there are 127 female prisoners, all of whom are legitimate prisoners of war, who could be tried by military commission under the provisions of General Orders No. 100, for their work as spies, collectors, etc. Forty women with children are provided with separate quarters, having been given the best available house for this purpose in town. Any woman becoming ill is released on parole. In the guardhouse there are 270 military prisoners, who are fed on the Government ration allowed prisoners, and who are probably getting better food than they ever before had in the course of their entire existence.

Schools in Camp.—"There is a school in each barrio, where instruction is given by native teachers acting under the general supervision of the teacher at Tanauan. These children look as happy and contented as any school children in the United States. As we rode through the village they were given a recess to meet us, and called out cheerily, smilingly, and in good English, the salutation 'Good morning,' which had been taught them.

"I was unable to find among these people anywhere any evidences of misery or neglect. The hombres or common people are perfectly contented and have no desire to leave. They have scarcely more power of intelligent initiative than the same number of cattle; they are accustomed to doing what they are told, whether the order comes from Spaniard, American, or one of the gentes finas of their own race; they accept the present conditions without complaint, and I am informed that it will be a matter of considerable difficulty to break up these barrios when the time comes to do so. It is gratifying to know that such hardships as exist fall upon the wealthy classes, and that it can no longer be said of the insurrection that it is 'a rich man's war' and 'a poor man's fight.'"

Caste is strongly marked among the Tagalos, and the upper-class aristocrats do not fancy their enforced association with the democratic herd. As far as possible, however, neighbors are kept together and the caste spirit is shocked just enough to excite amusement rather than pity in the mind of an American. The rich people have lost heavily, because they have not been able to harvest their orange crop and can not give their personal attention to their estates. They undoubtedly yearn earnestly for peace, and for the first time they are trying to bring it about. They deserve but little sympathy in their unhappiness, for it is they who have sustained the war, and it is but just that the pinch of the concentration should

be felt by them. It should be repeated with emphasis that the distress incident to war falls in this case not upon the poor, but upon the rich, who have been perfectly willing to oppose the Americans so long as the hardships and dangers fell almost exclusively upon the *hombres*, while the distinction and position of "patriot" leaders were monopolized by themselves.

Not Like Weyler.—The term "concentration" has doubtless become odious to the people of the United States, because of the course pursued in Cuba under the administration of Weyler. There is, however, one very important difference between the Spanish system of concentration and that used at these camps, namely, that while many of the Cuban *reconcentrados* were starved, in these camps all are well fed. I was unable to find in any of these great camps any evidence in the slightest degree of the want, misery, and squalor that are so evident in our best managed and presumably humane Indian agencies within the limits of the United States, where the policy of concentration has long been carried out by our Government in opposition to the wishes of the Indians, who preferred to run wild and conduct war at their own pleasure.

The effect of this system has been to produce practically a condition of peace in the provinces to which it has been applied. The insurgent leaders who are still out have scarcely any followers, being in small parties and in concealment, living in caves, hiding by day, prowling by night, and claiming to be the titled representatives of a government. It is said that they are largely sustained by the hope of material financial assistance from the junta of Hongkong, and there is no doubt that they are morally supported and strongly sustained by the public expressions of sympathy made by certain prominent persons in the United States.

In conclusion, so long as it is impossible to adopt the Sermon on the Mount as a guiding treatise on the art of war a certain degree of misery will be inseparable from a condition of war; but as far as the concentration camps are concerned, misery is reduced to a minimum, and the management of the military authorities has been so beneficent that I believe that the common people in the camps are actually more happy and comfortable than they were in their own villages.

Very respectfully,

ARTHUR L. WAGNER,

Colonel, Adjutant-General's Department, Adjutant-General.

MAJ. LOYD WHEATON, U. S. A.,

Commanding Department of North Philippines, Manila, P. I.

GENERAL WHEATON'S REPORT.

General Wheaton forwarded this report to the Adjutant-General of the Army in Washington, with the following indorsement:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF NORTH PHILIPPINES,
Manila, P. I., March 24, 1902.

Respectfully forwarded to the Adjutant-General of the Army, Washington, D. C.

This report illustrates the conditions existing in the towns where the inhabitants have been assembled. This concentration was made for the purpose of protecting the natives from the guerilla bands in the provinces of Laguna and Batangas.

After more than two years occupation of these provinces it has been found impossible to exterminate these bands or capture their leaders, owing to the reign of terror which they exercised over the inhabitants. Their systematic assassination—sometimes of burying alive—of natives who refused to contribute to the support of the insurrection, enabled them to wring a steady war revenue from people presumably enjoying the privileges of free government and the protection of the United States. This has now terminated; nearly all the arms in the hands of guerillas have been captured or have been surrendered, and there is a prospect of an early termination of disturbed conditions in provinces under military control. It is expected that within sixty days people assembled in the towns can be returned to their several places of former abode.

LOYD WHEATON,
Major-General, Commanding.

"The Life Line."—Colonel Wagner was called to testify before the Senate Philippines Committee, and said that these concentration camps had been broken up and the people returned to their homes after the capture of Malvar, the insurrection leader in that section. The principal purpose of these camps was to protect the people from the ladrones who robbed them. It became necessary to separate those who were friends from those who were enemies of the Government in order that the punishment of the latter should not be visited on the former as well.

Colonel Wagner said that the so-called "dead line" was in fact a "life line" to the peaceful natives who were in the concentration camps, protecting them from assassination by the ladrones.

United States Consul Anson Burlingame Johnson, who visited these camps as a civilian, and Professor Barrows, who went to the Philippines to assist in organizing the public-school system, confirmed what Colonel Wagner said about these camps.

Mr. Johnson said of reconcentration:

"I know it as it is practiced there. It is a misnomer to call it a policy of concentration, because the world has learned to put a significant meaning to that word. The policy as practiced in the Philippines has no element of cruelty in it. It is simply an order to the inhabitants of a particular locality to move from one portion to another, and there they reside and carry on their operations and business. If the locality into which they have moved does not afford them ample support, the United States Government provides them with food and shelter. *The people are pleased with it, because they are permitted to lead an easier life—much easier than at home.* There is no element of punishment or deprivation. They are simply requested to come into a certain district."

They are moved out of danger, then, for their own benefit?

"Exactly; because those who are inclined to favor the Americans are assailed by the ladrones or the rebels, and unless they came within the lines of the American Army they would be compelled to pay tribute to the insurgents. These people largely accept this concentration, as it is practiced, as a relief instead of a punishment. It is a relief from punishment inflicted upon them by the insurgents, with whom they have no sympathy."

Professor Barrows said:

"I was in one province which was reconcentrado, and I think I visited all but one town in the province. I think the matter has been very greatly misunderstood. In this case the population was in no sense confined within barriers inimical to its well-being. There was no barbed-wire fence business at all. They were simply required to dwell and to work along a great cultivated stretch which made up the arable land of the province, within a certain distance of a military road that traversed it. They had to stay there. They could not go out to the mountains. They could not take to the woods. Of course, within those limits they could pass, and pass for miles; harvest their rice; fish; do anything they wanted to do; but they must stay in the territory capable of patrol by the military forces."

Senator BEVERIDGE. But within those limits their personal action was free?

Mr. BARROWS. Yes, sir.

Senator DIETRICH. There was no starvation?

Mr. BARROWS. No, sir; that was impossible.

: is always safe to array yourself on the side of your country;
: always safe to stand against lawlessness and repudiation.—
for McKinley, at Canton, September 23, 1896.

NOT READY FOR INDEPENDENCE.

TESTIMONY OF PRESIDENT SCHURMAN, GOVERNOR TAFT, AND OTHERS SHOW NO PROMISE OF INDEPENDENCE SHOULD BE GIVEN.

The position of the Democrats in Congress on the Philippine question is that this Government should promise independence to the Filipinos at some distant day. The reports of the two Commissions sent to the Philippines and the testimony taken by the Philippines Committee of the Senate answer this proposition.

The first Commission, with Professor Schurman at the head, said, in its report:

"While the peoples of the Philippine Islands ardently desire a full measure of rights and liberties, they do not, in the opinion of the Commission, generally desire independence. Hundreds of witnesses testified on this subject to the Commission and its individual members, and, though they represented all possible varieties of opinion—many of them being in sympathy with the insurgents—they were uniform in their testimony that in view of the ignorance and political inexperience of the masses of the people, the multiplicity of languages, the divergencies of culture and mode of life, and the obstacles to intercommunication, an independent sovereign Philippine state was at the present time neither possible nor desirable, even if its poverty and internal weakness and lack of coherence would not invite, and the dissatisfaction of aliens entail, the intervention of foreign powers with the inevitable result of the division of the archipelago among them and the disappearance forever of the dream and hope of a united and self-governing Philippine commonwealth."

WOULD LAPSE INTO ANARCHY.

That report concluded with this statement:

"Should our power by any fatality be withdrawn, the Commission believe that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers and the eventual division of the islands among them. Only through American occupation, therefore, is the idea of a free, self-governing, and united Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable. And the indispensable need from the Filipino point of view of maintaining American sovereignty over the archipelago is recognized by all intelligent Filipinos and even by those insurgents who desire an American protectorate. The latter, it is true, would

take the revenues and leave us the responsibilities. *Nevertheless they recognize the indubitable fact that the Filipinos can not stand alone.* Thus the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with the dictates of national honor in forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago. We can not from any point of view escape the responsibilities of government which our sovereignty entails; and the Commission is strongly persuaded that the performance of our national duty will prove the greatest blessing to the peoples of the Philippine Islands."

AGUINALDO'S TESTIMONY.

Aguinaldo has himself answered the contention that there is a single people in the Philippines. In his diary, written during his flight into the mountains of Northern Luzon, there is this extract:

"Our situation here in Banane is very dangerous, because not only our enemies, the Americans, who are in front of us and behind us, but the very Igorrotes, who surround us, including those of Banane, are also our enemies, only waiting for the opportunity to cut off our heads, just as happened to Captain Villareal's soldiers, who, sent on in advance to the settlements, were attacked by the Igorrotes of Pagayapaig, and as a result we had to lament the loss of three guns captured by Igorrotes, besides three soldiers and a woman wounded."

GOVERNOR TAFT'S OPINION.

Governor Taft, before the Philippines Committee of the Senate, said:

"The condition of the people of the Philippine Islands to-day is such that the extension of the constitutional restrictions which apply in a State would very much interfere with the establishment of a stable and successful government.

"A government ought to be established under American guidance which shall form a stable government, by which and under which the Filipinos shall gradually improve their knowledge of what is individual liberty and what is a constitutional government, and subsequently the time will come when the United States and the Filipino people together can agree upon what their relations shall be.

"Whether a colony—I mean a quasi-independent colony as Australia and Canada are to England—an independent State, or a State of the Union, is a question so far in the future, dependent upon the success of the operation of the stable government, that I have not myself reached a conclusion on the subject."

Senator CANNACK. You think, then, it is an open question whether the people of the Philippine Islands—*islands populated with eight or ten million Asiatics*—should be admitted to the full rights of American citizenship or whether or not an archipelago so populated should be admitted to statehood in the Union? You think it is an open question?

QUESTION OF STATEHOOD.

Governor TAFT. I think it is a question that I would not answer two or three generations before it will arise. I think the great evil to-day is the discussion of something that is utterly impossible of settlement to-day. The thing the Filipino people need to-day is a stable government under the guidance of American control, teaching them what individual liberty is, and training them to a knowledge of self-government, and when they have that, the question of what relations shall then exist between the islands and this country may be settled between them and the citizens of the United States.

But to attempt to decide in advance something that it is utterly impossible wisely to decide now, it seems to me, with deference to those who differ with me, very unreasonable.

Senator CARMACK. I was speaking of it from the standpoint of the people of the United States, as to whether you thought it was a question of possibility—

Governor TAFT. What the people of the United States may think, or what they ought to think, fifty or a hundred years from now, I do not venture to say.

Senator PATTERSON. It is a century problem?

Governor TAFT. It is quite possible, as we say in our report, that it may take a generation, or two generations, but no matter how long it is, it is in my judgment the duty of the United States to continue a government there which shall teach those people individual liberty, which shall lift them up to a point of civilization of which I believe they are capable, and which shall make them rise to call the name of the United States blessed.

I have thought over this subject a great deal; we have become intensely interested in the problem, and of course motives, the charge of which we can not avoid, are given to us in reaching such a conclusion; but if I ever was convinced of anything in my life it is that the problem which the United States there has is a great problem worthy of its solution, and which, when solved by establishing a stable government there under the guidance of American control, will redound to the honor and the benefit of this country, and I am proud to have to do with that work.

NO PROMISE SHOULD BE GIVEN.

Senator CARMACK. You say that the great trouble in all this matter has been that we are thinking about what may happen a generation or two generations from now. If the possession of the Philippine Islands by the United States involves the possibility of an archipelago 7,000 miles away, inhabited by people of an Asiatic race, becoming a State of the Union fifty or a hundred years from

now, do you not think it is a question which deserves consideration now? Do you not think we ought to consider what may happen fifty years from now?

Governor TAFT. No, sir; and I will say why. Nothing that can to-day be said to the Filipino people in the nature of a promise as to the form of government which may take place after an established stable government shall be formed could be otherwise than misleading to them and confusing in establishing that government.

It would at once begin the agitation among those who desire that separation to have that separation, because, in their opinion, they are fitted for it at once. It would drive away from the support of the stable government that conservative element who are strongly in favor of American guidance and control, because they would anticipate an early change.

They would think they would early be left without the support which the presence of the American Government necessarily gives, and the promise of something in the future, instead of helping to establish, would render unstable any government which was attempted to be established.

* * * * *

Senator McCOMAS. I was going to ask how long that would take?

TIME REQUIRED FOR STABLE GOVERNMENT.

Governor TAFT. I doubt if the people can establish a stable government. I assume that this is without the aid of American guidance and control. If it is with the aid of American guidance and control, then the time taken must be indefinitely in the future.

Senator McCOMAS. Generations, probably.

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator McCOMAS. That was to be my next question—how many years we must continue to occupy and govern the archipelago until the people had established a stable government. You have said many generations.

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir; I think if it means what it may be inferred to mean, it means that the generals of the insurrecto forces shall call together a number of delegates and shall go through the form of making a government, and then when that government has its offices filled at once the transfer of sovereignty shall take place.

There would result after that—it might last six months, it might last a year, but there would result anarchy and interference with the rights of individuals and interference with the rights of vested interests in which foreign governments are concerned, which would require the United States at once to step back and begin over the work which it had been doing, and it would find itself where it was two years ago.

I make that statement, first, on the experience of the Aguinaldo government. For eight months Aguinaldo had a government in Luzon. It consisted of the congress at Malolos, the members of which were appointed by him, many of them distinguished lawyers and educated men from Manila largely.

Thereupon he appointed governors for various provinces, and the outrages that were committed by those governors in the conduct of the government and the collection of taxes, the corruption which existed through the territory over which he had control, leave no doubt as to what the result would be, that a similar government would be established—and I assume that is what this substitute means—within a short period of time, and would be followed by the withdrawal of American sovereignty.

Secondly, the local control which the educated people of each province has over the ignorant people there would enable disappointed politicians in any particular province to set up a little force by itself, and that inevitably, in the course of one or two years, would produce the state of anarchy of which I have spoken.

* * * * *

Senator RAWLINS. The Filipinos, desiring some definite policy declared with reference to them, if we fail to do that and proceed to deal with them and legislate for them as if they were a dependent colony, to be treated like other subject colonies, would it not be a constant source of trouble?

WHAT THE FILIPINOS DESIRE.

Governor TAFT. I think not, if you show by your legislation, as I hope you may, that you are really extending to them the means of self-government. What they desire definitely, as I understand it, is a declaration that Congress expects to establish a civil government, and to say what kind of a civil government it is. They also point out that they would like to know where the Filipinos stand with reference to the rights under the Constitution and with reference to the United States in the relation of the islands to the United States.

I think it would be well to reiterate, in a law like this, the rights set forth in the President's instructions to the Commission, which include everything secured by the bill of rights except the right to bear arms and the right to a trial by jury. I see no objection—although, of course, it follows without such a statement, because of the relation that the treaty establishes—to a declaration that the citizens or residents of those islands, owing allegiance to the United States, shall have the same protection with respect to foreign countries that a citizen of the United States has.

My objection to extending those personal rights contained in the

Constitution is chiefly based on the fact that I do not think they are ready for trial by jury. I do not think that, educated in an entirely different system of law and having the defects which I have already pointed out, they are ready for trial by jury, and then I do not think that the Filipinos themselves would ask to have the right to bear arms. The right to bear arms conferred upon a people in which ladronism is so chronic would lead to oppression of the Filipinos, and the Filipinos would be the last to desire to have it. If there is in the law a declaration of the rights I have mentioned, I should think it would help us.

MEANING OF TERM "INDEPENDENCE."

Senator ALLISON. There are Filipino people, and I suppose very intelligent people, from what I hear, who want independence. Do they mean by "independence" that they shall establish there a government of their own, which shall be responsible for domestic tranquillity and also take care of all their relations with the governments of the world, and that they shall be cut loose entirely from the friendship and protection of the United States? Is that the kind of independence they are talking about, or is it an independence that shall rest upon some stronger power to help them maintain themselves? I should like to know just what is the idea of the intelligent people and also of the other 90 per cent when they talk about independence.

Governor TAFT. It is very difficult to answer that question with exactness. The term "independence," when used by the insurgents, was supposed to indicate something very good, without any definition of what it was; so that many of the troops, as Professor Worcester tells me, for I am not myself an authority on that question, in cheering said "dependencia" instead of "independencia." On the other hand, there are intelligent people who use the expression "independence" in an oratorical way without having thought out what the giving of it involves.

WHAT SIXTO LOPEZ MEANT.

I know, not by discussing it with him myself, but through a gentleman of intelligence who told me what the conversation was with Mr. Sixto Lopez as to what he meant by independence, that he meant that they should be allowed to manage their own affairs domestically; that we should maintain an army to protect them from invasion by foreign powers, and that he was entirely willing that the Army should remain in the islands to police the islands and prevent the anarchy or disorder that might arise.

Now, I do not venture to say that I heard that myself, but that was in a conversation with Mr. Lopez, in which the question was

put to him as to what he meant by independence and what he meant by the policy. But I venture to say that most of them have not followed to a last analysis what is to be done were independence granted.

NO CONCEPTION OF CIVIL LIBERTY.

I wish to impress the fact, that were the government turned over to those who profess to be the leaders in the insurrection to-day, among the irreconcilables or intransigentes, though not in arms, the idea of civil liberty would be the last idea which would be practically carried into effect.

Senator ALLISON. That is, liberty regulated by law?

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir.

Senator ALLISON. Established by law?

Governor TAFT. Yes, sir. The tendency of all governments under them would be toward absolutism, an oligarchy which would mean that the presidente of the village would control absolutely the village; the governor would control the province, and the head of the government would control the governors. The idea of elevation and protection to that indifferent mass of 90 per cent would be possibly professed, but would fall far short of actual realization; and, therefore, offering to them independence now is offering to them—that is, to 90 per cent of the people to whom I have referred—a condition of things which would be as far from enjoyment of free institutions as it is possible to imagine.

GENERAL MACARTHUR'S VIEWS.

General MacArthur said to the Philippines Committee that the effect of withdrawal of American authority from the islands would be "absolute chaos." He added:

"I might say in that connection of self-government that in one of the last interviews I had with Aguinaldo—and my intercourse with him was exceedingly agreeable and very much to his credit—he told me that he was satisfied that he had been misinformed as to the character of the American people and the purpose of the American Government, and *that he was also satisfied that it would be impossible at this stage of their evolution for his own people to establish a stable, independent government.* Now, that is entitled to just as much credence as gentlemen choose to give it. It was a voluntary statement on Aguinaldo's part, however."

Professor Barrows said: "I do not think the Filipino is yet born who will control, to say nothing of governing justly, the Philippine Islands."

General Otis said: "Withdrawal would result in anarchy and absolute despotism, and they all understand it. There is not a

Filipino or anybody else over there who desires self-government. When Mabini came in I said to him: 'You know the United States is essential to the welfare and integrity of the islands.' He said, 'I know it.' I said, 'What are you fighting for?' He replied, 'We are fighting in order to make the best terms possible.' "

Doctor Hazlett, representing the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, went to Manila an ardent antiexpansionist. In his hearing before the Philippines Committee, Doctor Hazlett said: "I went to Manila with the thought that Admiral Dewey should have sailed away after the destruction of the Spanish fleet, but am now convinced that future generations of Americans, and Filipinos as well, will arise to bless and honor him because he did not."

Bishop Thoburn, who has spent forty-five years in the Orient, said to the committee: "I think it would be a crime to attempt to withdraw. It would bring an awful state of things on the whole islands, because it would throw them into utter anarchy."

Throughout a large part of our national career our history has been one of expansion, the expansion being of different kinds at different times. This expansion is not a matter of regret, but of pride. It is vain to tell a people as masterful as ours that the spirit of enterprise is not safe. The true American has never feared to run risks when the prize to be won was of sufficient value.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

In the Philippines let us remember that the spirit and not the mere form of government is the essential matter. The Tagalogs have a hundred-fold the freedom under us that they would have if we had abandoned the islands. We are not trying to subjugate a people; we are trying to develop them and make them a law-abiding, industrious, and educated people, and we hope, ultimately, a self-governing people.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

Let me insist again, for fear of possible misconstruction, upon the fact that our duty is two-fold, and that we must raise others while we are benefiting ourselves. In bringing order to the Philippines, our soldiers added a new page to the honor roll of American history, and they incalculably benefited the islanders themselves. Under the wise administration of Governor Taft the islands now enjoy a peace and liberty of which they have hitherto never even dreamed.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

DEWEY'S OPINION OF AGUINALDO.

THE INSURGENT LEADER AFTER LOOT RATHER THAN INDEPENDENCE.

Admiral George Dewey, who had many personal interviews with Aguinaldo and better opportunity to judge the man than any other American, was called to testify before the Philippines Committee of the Senate June 26, 27, and 28, 1902, in the investigation regarding the conduct of the war in the Philippines.

Admiral Dewey's opinion, expressed in 1898, that the Filipinos were better qualified for self-government than were the Cubans, has been often quoted, and it has been used to create the impression that the Admiral had full knowledge of and sympathized with Aguinaldo's struggle for independence.

In his testimony before the Philippines Committee, Admiral Dewey told the story of his relations with Aguinaldo, and expressed his opinion of the insurgent leader. This testimony from the one American officer who had more to do with Aguinaldo than any other, is interesting because of that fact and also because the American people have an impression that Dewey knew what he was doing at Manila, and that he did not appropriate to himself any glory that belonged to others.

Senator Lodge, chairman of the committee, asked the Admiral this question:

The CHAIRMAN. When did you first hear from Aguinaldo and his friends?

Admiral DEWEY. I should think about a month before leaving Hongkong; that is, about the 1st of April, when it became pretty certain that there was to be war with Spain, I heard that there were a number of Filipinos in the city of Hongkong who were anxious to accompany the squadron to Manila in case we went over. I saw these men two or three times myself. They seemed to be all very young, earnest boys. I did not attach much importance to what they said or to themselves. Finally, the day before we left Mirs Bay for Hongkong, I received a telegram from Consul-General Pratt, at Singapore, saying that Aguinaldo was there and was very anxious to see me. I said to him, "All right; tell him to come on;" but I attached so little importance to Aguinaldo that I did not wait for him. He did not arrive, and we sailed from Mirs Bay without any of the Filipinos, although I told these young men they could go if they wanted to. They did not go. I had been led to believe

that there were a large number of Filipinos under arms in and about Manila, and our consul, Williams, had said: "At your first gun there will be 30,000 Filipinos rise." I joked him a good deal about it afterwards. I said: "Why don't they rise? I don't see anybody rising." As a matter of fact there was not a Filipino under arms the day I reached Manila.

I would like to say here that the governor-general of Manila virtually surrendered to me on the 1st day of May. During the engagement between the two squadrons they fired a number of rifle guns from batteries in front of the city at my squadron, and as soon as the Spaniards were sunk I took the squadron in front of the city and sent word to the governor-general that if he fired another shot at my ships I would destroy the town. He replied in writing that he would not fire if I did not. I anchored my ships in front of the city within easy range, and lay there twenty-four hours. That is not generally known. The city of Manila surrendered to my squadron the 1st of May. If we had had 5,000 troops to have occupied the city that day we would have had no war; it would have been the end of it. I lay there twenty-four hours, and then withdrew back of Cavite. I was afraid someone might fire and I would have to keep my word. Then, by the first steamer I sent over, I received a letter from Consul-General Wildman, at Hongkong, saying that Aguinaldo was there, and a number of others, and they were very anxious to come over. So the next trip of the McCulloch, my steamer (there was no other communication with Hongkong except my vessel), I told the officer that went over that he might bring over about a dozen, still having no faith in them.

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AGUINALDO DISCOURAGED.

I told this officer he could bring about a dozen on the McCulloch, and the McCulloch came back with Aguinaldo and about a dozen young men. Aguinaldo came to see me. I said, "Well, now, go ashore there, we have got our force at the arsenal at Cavite; go ashore and start your army." He came back in the course of a few hours and said, "I want to leave here; I want to go to Japan." I said, "Don't give it up, Don Emilio." I wanted his help, you know. I said, "Don't give it up." He did not sleep ashore that night; he slept on board the ship. The next morning he went on shore, still inside my lines, and began recruiting men, and after a few days I went ashore to see him, and said to him, "You had better go outside my lines. There is our enemy up there at Manila, and it would be better for you and better for me if we work independently; you go your way and I will go mine." He then went into

the town of Cavite and began recruiting troops. We found in the arsenal 75 or 100 rifles which I had no use for. I gave him those. I told him also he could take any of the rifles, the cannon of the arsenal. I gave him a lot of Mauser ammunition that we captured. We had a common enemy, and, of course, I wanted his help. Then when I heard our troops were coming I asked him to withdraw his troops from Cavite to make room for our men. He demurred at this, but finally withdrew and established headquarters across the bay at a place called Bacoar, from which place, on the 15th of July, he sent me a proclamation declaring the independence of the Philippines.

FIRST TALK OF INDEPENDENCE.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that the first?

Admiral DEWEY. That was the first intimation; the first I had ever heard of independence of the Philippines.

The CHAIRMAN. He had said something to you—

Admiral DEWEY. Not a word. He had done what I told him. I attached so little importance to this proclamation that I did not even cable its contents to Washington, but forwarded it through the mails. I never dreamed that they wanted independence. Then he began operations toward Manila, and he did wonderfully well. He whipped the Spaniards battle after battle, and finally put one of these old smooth bore guns on a barge, and he wanted to take this up—wanted me to tow it up so he could attack the city with it. I said, "Oh, no, no; we can do nothing until our troops come." I knew he could not take the city without the assistance of the Navy, without my assistance, and I knew that what he was doing—driving the Spaniards in—was saving our own troops, because our own men perhaps would have had to have done that same thing. He and I were always on the most friendly terms; we had never had any differences. He considered me as his liberator—as his friend. I think he had the highest admiration for me, because we had whipped these people who had been riding them down for three hundred years.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you at anytime, Admiral, recognize his government or his independence?

Admiral DEWEY. Oh, never. I have seen it stated in print that I saluted his flag. Of course, I never saluted it. The German admiral came to me and said, "These Filipino tugs that are running about here have hoisted the Filipino flag; are you going to permit it?" I said, "It is not a flag; they have no government; no government has recognized them; they have a little bit of bunting that anybody could hoist." I said, "That is not a Filipino flag." Well, that was the end of that. We know that any yacht, any vessel, any steamer,

can hoist a bit of bunting, and they called this a Filipino flag, but I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You, of course, never saluted the flag?

Admiral DEWEY. Certainly not; and I do not think I ever called Aguinaldo anything but Don Emilio; I don't think I ever called him "general."

The CHAIRMAN. And when he came on board ship was he received with any special honors at the side?

Admiral DEWEY. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. You remember the question of your recognizing his republic was a good deal discussed, and you wrote me a letter which I read in the Senate. Of course, I am only asking now about what you said in the letter. There was no recognition of the republic?

NO RECOGNITION OF PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC.

Admiral DEWEY. Never. I did not think I had any authority to do it and it never occurred to me to do it. There was a sort of reign of terror; there was no government. These people had got power for the first time in their lives and they were riding roughshod over the community. The acts of cruelty which were brought to my notice were hardly credible. I sent word to Aguinaldo that he must treat his prisoners kindly, and he said he would.

The CHAIRMAN. What, in your opinion, Admiral, would have been the effect of having allowed them to enter Manila when our troops did? They were not allowed to?

Admiral DEWEY. That would be only an opinion. As you know, soldiers are generally given to looting.

The CHAIRMAN. However, they were not permitted to enter the city?

Admiral DEWEY. No; they were not permitted by General Merritt and our troops; they were not permitted to enter. The Spanish troops were very fearful about that. They surrendered the city to me. It was all arranged, and we need not have lost a man there. The governor-general arranged with me that I was to go up and fire a few shots, and then I was to make the signal, "Do you surrender?" and he would hoist the white flag, and then the troops would march in; but he was fearful that the Filipinos would get in.

Senator BURROWS. Who was that arrangement with?

Admiral DEWEY. The governor-general, who commanded. I said, "If you are going to surrender, why must I fire any shots?" He said his honor demanded that. So I had to fire—kill a few people.

Senator BURROWS. To preserve his honor?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes. I said, "Now make him understand that he must keep his word, because if he fires one shot down goes that city." They did not fire a shot; although they had 15,000 troops in

the city and 47 rifled guns on the city front, they did not fire a shot. I am glad for this opportunity to say this, because this has not been printed before. This is a part of the history which I was reserving to write myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Could the Filipino forces under Aguinaldo have taken Manila without your assistance? How large a force did he have?

Admiral DEWEY. We never could tell exactly, they exaggerated it so; but I suspect he had at that time 25,000 men. He had a large force.

Senator BURROWS. Armed?

Admiral DEWEY. That I don't know. I did not, of course, see them. They were stretching right around the city, the back part of it, and I did not see them. The Army officers would know better about that. Some were armed. They were getting arms; they captured a great many arms from the Spanish troops. In every battle they captured arms.

SPANIARDS DEMORALIZED.

The CHAIRMAN. And there were 15,000 Spanish troops in Manila?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Would they have fought if the Filipinos had tried to come in alone; would those 15,000 Spanish troops have fought them?

Admiral DEWEY. They were pretty badly demoralized. You see, the Navy controlled the situation there; we had cut off their supplies. All communication in the Philippines is by water, and we commanded the water, controlled the situation, and they had not got a thing in. They surrendered on August 13, and they had not got a thing in after the 1st of May. They were short of provisions and supplies of all kinds and were pretty well demoralized. They wanted to surrender, all of them; they were very anxious to surrender—to us.

Senator BURROWS. The Spaniards?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you there after that, Admiral; after the surrender of the city?

Admiral DEWEY. I was there until the following June; I was there through the winter.

The CHAIRMAN. You were there when the city was attacked?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you surprised at that attack?

Admiral DEWEY. No. We had heard there had been threats; it had been in the air for a long time, and every now and then we would hear rumors that there was going to be a rising in the city—

that there was going to be an attack. Of course I was in constant touch with General Otis, and had my ships located so we could afford assistance in the event of an attack.

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THE FILIPINOS BOTHERED DEWEY.

Senator PATTERSON. Did you receive any communication from Mr. Pratt in which he stated what it was that Aguinaldo desired?

Admiral DEWEY. I should say not. Of course this happened four years ago, and I remember Mr. Pratt wrote me a good many letters. I had a great deal on my mind; but if by that you mean to bring out that I in anyway knew that Aguinaldo was to cooperate with me for the independence of the Filipinos, I never received any letter of that kind. I don't remember when I first did hear from Pratt. He wrote me a number of foolish letters, I remember.

Senator CARMACK. Admiral, did you see a publication in the Singapore Free Press about that time giving an account of the conference between Consul-General Pratt and Aguinaldo?

Admiral DEWEY. I have seen it; I don't remember when—written by a Mr. Bray?

Senator CARMACK. I don't remember.

The CHAIRMAN. Howard Bray?

Admiral DEWEY. Howard Bray; a very unreliable person.

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Senator PATTERSON. What you said was: "Tell Aguinaldo to come as soon as possible."

Admiral DEWEY. Yes; but I did not wait a moment for him.

Senator PATTERSON. Yes; but there was a reason for that.

Admiral DEWEY. I think more to get rid of him than anything else.

Senator CARMACK. Rid of whom?

Admiral DEWEY. Of Aguinaldo and the Filipinos. They were bothering me. I was very busy getting my squadron ready for battle, and these little men were coming on board my ship at Hong-kong and taking a good deal of my time, and I did not attach the slightest importance to anything that they could do, and they did nothing; that is, none of them went with me when I went to Mirs Bay. There had been a good deal of talk, but when the time came they did not go. One of them didn't go because he didn't have any toothbrush.

Senator BURROWS. Did he give that as a reason?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes; he said, "I have no toothbrush."

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Senator PATTERSON. What was it they were bothering you about?

Admiral DEWEY. God knows; I don't know. They were taking

my time about frivolous things. I let them come over as an act of courtesy, just as you sometimes give money to a man to get rid of him; not that I expected anything from them. As I said in my direct testimony, I expected to find a large force of Filipinos under arms in insurrection to assist me. I was told that at my first gun there would be 25,000 or 30,000 Filipinos rise. But they did not rise. There was not one under arms, and when Aguinaldo came, the first information he got that they were beginning to assemble I gave him.

Senator PATTERSON. Did you have any idea what Aguinaldo's hopes or desires were in connection with the Philippine Islands when he came to Manila Bay?

Admiral DEWEY. I did not think much about it. Certainly it never entered my head that they wanted independence.

Senator PATTERSON. You wrote to the Navy Department about the capacity of the Filipinos for self-government?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes; I wrote that because I saw by the papers that it was contemplated to give the Cubans their independence; that Congress contemplated giving independence, and I knew that our people did not know very much about the Filipinos at that time. I knew that because before going there I had great difficulty in finding out anything about them. Therefore I gave this information as something which was not generally known.

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Senator PATTERSON. How did it come, Admiral, that you supplied Aguinaldo's men early in May with Mausers; allowed him to take possession of a lot of Spanish rifles or arms that had been sunk in the waters, and commence the investment of Manila, if the Spanish governor-general was ready to surrender to you at anytime you had forces to take possession of the city?

Admiral DEWEY. How does it happen that I permitted that?

Senator PATTERSON. Yes.

Admiral DEWEY. Well, I permitted it as a good military act—a proper military act. The Filipinos were our friends, assisting us; they were doing our work. I believed then that they would be so thankful and delighted to get rid of the Spaniards that they would accept us with open arms, and Aguinaldo was advised by Vice-Admiral Seymour when he was out there, when he was at the summit of his power at Malolos (Admiral Seymour commanded the English squadron there), that the best thing for him (Aguinaldo) to do was to tie to the Americans. Admiral Seymour saw him up there and advised him to tie to the Americans. He said to him, "They are your best friends."

Senator PATTERSON. But, Admiral, why did you want to use Aguinaldo and the men that he could call to arms under him in con-

nection with the city of Manila if it was true that the Spanish governor-general would surrender to your fleet anytime that you had forces to occupy the city?

Admiral DEWEY. Can't you see why I permitted him to do it? I was waiting for troops to arrive, and I felt sure that the Filipinos could not take Manila, and I thought that the closer they invested the city the easier it would be when our troops arrived to march in. It turned out as I expected, and we need not have lost a man.

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Senator CARMACK. Did you not encourage Aguinaldo organizing an army?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes, to a certain extent; I let him take a few arms there. We never turn away friends, do we?

Senator CARMACK. Did you not say that Aguinaldo was discouraged and ready to abandon it, and you encouraged him to make another effort to organize an army there?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes. One's hind sight is a great deal better than his foresight. Looking back, I would not have had him there; I would not have had anything to do with any of them. I did not know as much then as I know now; none of us did.

Senator CARMACK. You thought, then, you would need them?

Admiral DEWEY. I thought they would be friendly to us and would help us; and they were very ungrateful, I think, in turning against us after what we did for them.

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WAR AGAINST A COMMON ENEMY.

The CHAIRMAN. You were encouraging insurrection against a common enemy with which you were at war?

Admiral DEWEY. I think so. I had in my mind an illustration furnished by the Civil War. I was in the South in the Civil War, and the only friends we had in the South were the negroes, and we made use of them; they assisted us on many occasions. I had that in mind; I said these people were our friends, and "we have come here, and they will help us just exactly as the negroes helped us in the Civil War."

Senator PATTERSON. The negroes were expecting their freedom—

Admiral DEWEY. The Filipinos were slaves, too.

Senator PATTERSON. What were the Filipinos expecting?

Admiral DEWEY. They wanted to get rid of the Spaniards; I do not think they looked much beyond that. I can not recall, but I have in mind that the one thing they had in their minds was to get rid of the Spaniards and then to accept us, and that would have occurred—I have thought that many times—if we had had troops to occupy that city on the 1st day of May before the insurrection

got started; these people would have accepted us as their friends, and they would have been our loyal friends—I don't know how long, but they would have been our friends then.

Senator PATTERSON. You learned from Pratt, or Wildman, or Williams, very early, did you not, that the Filipinos wanted their own country and to rule their own country; that that is what they were expecting?

Admiral DEWEY. I heard from Williams that there was an insurrection there against the Spaniards. The Spaniards were very cruel to them, and I think they did not look much beyond getting rid of them. There was one, Dr. Rizal, who had that idea of independence, but I don't think that Aguinaldo had much idea of it.

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Senator PATTERSON. You knew that there were many thousands under arms with Aguinaldo; they had formed a civil government of which you had knowledge; they were flying the flag of their own country, and you did not interfere with it?

Admiral DEWEY. I knew that there was no government in the whole of the Philippines. Our fleet had destroyed the only government there was, and there was no other government; there was just a reign of terror throughout the Philippines, looting, robbing, murdering—a reign of terror throughout the islands.

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Senator PATTERSON. You did keep a watchful eye on him, I suppose?

Admiral DEWEY. Of course I did.

Senator PATTERSON. And you found nothing to cause any doubt as to his loyalty up to the time until after Manila surrendered?

Admiral DEWEY. His loyalty to whom?

Senator PATTERSON. To you and to the cause for which he was fighting.

Admiral DEWEY. I began to suspect he was not loyal to us about the time our troops arrived, when he demurred at moving out of Cavite for our troops.

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Senator PATTERSON. Do you believe in his proclamation he was uttering falsehoods to the Filipino people?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes; I do absolutely. I think he was there for gain—for money—that independence never entered his head. He was there for loot and money. That is what I believe, since you ask me my belief; I believe that implicitly.

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PLUNDER AND PILLAGE.

Senator CARMACK. You say he went there solely for the purpose of plunder and pillage?

Admiral DEWEY. I believe that.

Senator CARMACK. That is your opinion?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes.

Senator CARMACK. And that was the man you assisted in organizing an army under his command—a robber and plunderer—a thief?

Admiral DEWEY. You know the old saying, that all things are fair in war.

Senator CARMACK. Is that fair in war under the rules of war; is it regarded as according to the rules of warfare to assist a known plunderer and robber to organize forces in the enemy's territory, where they can pillage without restraint and perpetrate whatever cruelties they please upon the inhabitants? Is that according to the rules of warfare?

Admiral DEWEY. I believe it is.

Senator CARMACK. You think so?

Admiral DEWEY. I think so, as I read history.

Senator CARMACK. That is, then, what you did? You assisted a robber and plunderer to organize forces to suit himself in an enemy's country?

Admiral DEWEY. I did not call him a robber and plunderer then; I called him the insurgent leader.

Senator CARMACK. That is what you called him; but a robber and plunderer is what you said he was.

Admiral DEWEY. I did not call him a robber and plunderer then.

Senator BEVERIDGE. He said he thought he was there for money and loot.

Senator CARMACK. Of course you called him the insurgent leader when you addressed him; you did not call him a robber or plunderer. Of course, while you were getting the benefit of the robber's services you treated him as though he were a gentleman.

Admiral DEWEY. I think Senator Dietrich's question and my answer to it will explain my position. I said in reply to him that I thought he was there for money and loot.

Senator CARMACK. You said he was there for plunder and pillage.

Admiral DEWEY. For money and loot.

Senator BEVERIDGE. He said for money and loot.

Senator CARMACK. Plunder and pillage means the same thing. Here is my note of it: "Loot and money."

Admiral DEWEY. Did you think he was there for anything else?

Senator CARMACK. I do; yes.

Admiral DEWEY. I don't.

Senator CARMACK. Do you think your opportunities for understanding the character of Aguinaldo were better than those of General Otis?

Admiral DEWEY. I think on some things my judgment is better than that of General Otis.

Senator CARMACK. I am asking about your opportunities for obtaining knowledge.

Admiral DEWEY. I do not believe he ever saw Aguinaldo, and I saw him fifty times.

Senator CARMACK. Did you learn from seeing him that he was a robber?

JUDGED AGUINALDO BY HIS CONDUCT.

Admiral DEWEY. Yes; I judge a great deal about men by seeing them.

Senator DIETRICH. And honest men differ, do they not?

Admiral DEWEY. Of course. And I knew his history.

Senator CARMACK. Did you judge that from your conversation with him?

Admiral DEWEY. Partly.

Senator CARMACK. Did you know his history better than General Bell?

Admiral DEWEY. I think I knew it better than any of the Army officers, because I was there on the spot. They had to learn it after they came out there.

Senator BEVERIDGE. You were in daily communication with him, were you not?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes.

Senator CARMACK. I do not suppose he told you that he was a robber?

Admiral DEWEY. No; I saw it.

Senator CARMACK. From his manner?

Admiral DEWEY. No; I saw it in his actions.

Senator CARMACK. What actions, for instance?

Admiral DEWEY. He had not been there forty-eight hours before he began capturing everything he could lay his hands on.

Senator CARMACK. What?

Admiral DEWEY. Provisions, rice, and food.

Senator CARMACK. From the Spaniards?

Admiral DEWEY. From anybody.

Senator CARMACK. For the army or for himself?

Admiral DEWEY. He took the lion's share of it, I suspect.

Senator CARMACK. You suspect that; do you know whether he did or not?

Admiral DEWEY. He had nothing when he came there.

Senator CARMACK. What has he got now?

Admiral DEWEY. I fancy he is pretty well off.

Senator CARMACK. You fancy so; but do you know it?

Senator BEVERIDGE. You do know that he got several hundred

thousand dollars from the Spaniards for deserting the insurrectionary cause?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes.

Senator CARMACK. If General Otis were to say and General Bell were to say that they regard Aguinaldo as personally honest in money matters, would that influence your opinion in regard to him?

Admiral DEWEY. Not the slightest.

Senator CARMACK. You do not know of a single dollar he dishonestly got, and yet you regard him as a thief?

Admiral DEWEY. I think I will not answer that.

* * * * *

AGUINALDO LIVED LIKE A KING.

Senator CARMACK. You said yesterday you suspected that Aguinaldo took the lion's share of the provisions that were gathered for the army. What was the ground upon which you made that accusation?

Admiral DEWEY. Because he was living in Malolos there like a prince—like a king; in a way that could only have come by his taking the lion's share. Then what I said about his looting I repeat what I said yesterday. He began within forty-eight hours after he landed in Cavite to capture and take everything he wanted. I know these things of my own knowledge, because I saw these things brought in, and I know that every dollar was taken from the workingmen at the navy-yard at the threat of death.

Senator CARMACK. You say that began immediately?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes, within forty-eight hours. Now it seems a little ungrateful in me saying this, but you have asked me and I consider that I am under honor to tell the truth. I know these things, because he would send me cattle; he would send me a herd of cattle for my ships that he captured. He did not have any money when he landed.

Senator BEVERIDGE. He captured these cattle from his own people?

Admiral DEWEY. Indiscriminately. There was a reign of terror there. I know these things; it is not hearsay.

Senator CARMACK. Was there any official report; any statement of that, made at the time?

Admiral DEWEY. No. That is war.

Senator CARMACK. Was not the contrary statement made? You spoke in your report about his treating the prisoners kindly and humanely?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes; he did.

Senator CARMACK. And I think it was Consul Williams writing

to you what was going on there, and said he had restrained the men from pillage and plunder?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes. I do not know what Mr. Williams said, I am not responsible for him, but I was speaking of what I know myself. This army—I call it an army, this mob—began to assemble there; of course, it was an undrilled mob. They had to be fed and clothed, and he did as many other leaders of armies have done before him, he made the country support them.

Senator CARMACK. He made the country support the army?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes.

Senator CARMACK. You regard that simply as pillage and loot?

Admiral DEWEY. We call it that. We did not do that way. That is, I took provisions with me for my men.

Senator CARMACK. But he did not have provisions.

Admiral DEWEY. We took coal: I captured a lot of coal in the place from different vessels. There were a good many neutral vessels there when we went in laden with coal. I took the coal; it belonged to English ships and German ships and others. We paid them for it, for every dollar's worth.

Senator PATTERSON. Is that what you mean when you say he looted? That he made reprisals for his army, took provisions, and whatever was necessary. That is what you meant?

Admiral DEWEY. That is one part of it.

Senator CARMACK. This was taking provisions for the use of the army?

Admiral DEWEY. That is one thing he did.

Senator CARMACK. You said you did not object to that at the time?

Admiral DEWEY. No. It would have been useless; he got beyond me very soon; he got out of my hands very soon.

* * * * *

AGUINALDO NOT WANTED.

Senator CARMACK. You did want a man there who could organize and rouse the people?

Admiral DEWEY. I didn't want anybody. I would like to say now that Aguinaldo and his people were forced on me by Consul Pratt and Consul Wildman; I didn't do anything.—

Senator CARMACK. Did they have any power to force him upon you?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes, they had in a way. They had not the official power, but one will yield after a while to constant pressure. I did not expect anything of them; I did not think they would do anything. I would not have taken them; I did not want them; I did not believe in them; because when I sailed, when I left

Hongkong, I was led to suppose that the country was in a state of insurrection, and that at my first gun, as Mr. Williams put it, there would be a general uprising, and I thought these half dozen or dozen refugees at Hongkong would play a very small part in it.

Senator CARMACK. Then by helping Aguinaldo arm and organize a force, knowing his character as you did, you placed the whole country and its people at the mercy of a man who had no higher object than to get rich by plundering them or betraying them when, as matter of fact, you had no need at all for their services?

Senator McTOMAS. That is an assumption and not a question.

Admiral DEWEY. I am not a lawyer; I can not debate with you, Senator.

* * * * *

Admiral DEWEY. Well, I did not want them.

Senator CARMACK. Then it is a fact, is it not, that you took a man to the Philippines, aided him and encouraged him to organize an army over which you were to have little or no control; a man who had no higher object than to get rich by plundering the people or by betraying them?

Admiral DEWEY. I won't answer that; I am not going to answer that.

Senator CARMACK. Very well; you decline to answer the question. You say you did not know at the time that Aguinaldo was such a bad man?

Admiral DEWEY. I did not know anything about him, really, at the time. I permitted him to come, I did not take him but I permitted him to come; I did not know about him then. I knew very little about Aguinaldo, in fact I hardly knew anything about him.

Senator CARMACK. When did you first learn that his only object in the insurrection was to loot and sell out his country for money?

Admiral DEWEY. I have said two or three times that he began looting within forty-eight hours after his arrival; that he began capturing everything in sight. I began to form my opinion of him then. They looted the town of Cavite; they cleaned out everything. It was quite a large town, and he and his so-called army looted it. I believe you have been in the Philippines?

Senator CARMACK. No; I have not.

Admiral DEWEY. Well, honesty did not go very far there.

Senator CARMACK. I am not going there at all.

Admiral DEWEY. Well, it does not count much, their schooling has been bad.

Senator PATTERSON. And when Aguinaldo came there did he ever talk to you on the basis of selling out?

Admiral DEWEY. No.

Senator PATTERSON. Did he ever ask you for money?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes.

Senator PATTERSON. Give us that occurrence, whatever it was.

Admiral DEWEY. He wanted a bill of exchange—let me correct that.

Senator PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

Admiral DEWEY. He wanted to exchange Mexican dollars for gold; he wanted me to give him gold for Mexican dollars.

Senator PATTERSON. That was an exchange of funds.

Admiral DEWEY. I was pretty sure in my own mind where he had gotten those Mexican dollars; he had not brought them in with him when he came, and I thought from the fact that he wanted to put that money into gold that he was getting ready to leave.

Senator BEVERIDGE. He could not use the gold for disbursements among the troops or purchase of supplies, the silver would answer that purpose better.

Admiral DEWEY. That is correct; that is one thing which had escaped my mind, and that is one thing which made me believe that he was feathering his own nest.

DEMOCRATS TRY TO CONFUSE DEWEY.

Senator PATTERSON. Was it at Malolos that he lived in magnificence, as you have described?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes; he had a chariot and four, and a band of a hundred pieces, and everything in the grandest style.

Senator PATTERSON. That was very well calculated to inspire the Filipinos he gathered to his standard with respect, and to give them the feeling that there was something substantial behind their efforts?

Admiral DEWEY. It inspired them more than it inspired those from whom he had taken the money to maintain this magnificence.

Senator PATTERSON. Do you think those inuendoes are just and proper?

Admiral DEWEY. I do.

Senator BEVERIDGE (acting chairman). I do not know whether any Senator objects, but I will frankly say that such a question as that the chair will rule is not proper, and that it is discourteous.

Senator PATTERSON. It is not.

Senator BEVERIDGE. The chair thinks it is.

Senator PATTERSON. I will let the record stand to show that the question is perfectly proper and perfectly justifiable.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And you will also let the record state what the opinion of the chair is upon that subject.

Senator PATTERSON. I don't care what the opinion of the chair is.

Senator BEVERIDGE. And I will not permit the question to be put.

Senator PATTERSON. Do you know that Aguinaldo has a dollar to-day?

Admiral DEWEY. No; how should I know it? I have not been there for three years.

Senator PATTERSON. I want to know whether your views—

Admiral DEWEY. I do not like your questions a bit; I did not like them yesterday, and I do not like them to-day. I am here to give you all the information I can during the days before the arrival of the Army, of my actions, and I am not responsible for what other people wrote or did or said.

Senator BEVERIDGE (acting chairman). You will answer before the committee all questions concerning your knowledge derived from any source, and you will not be required to answer questions that may in anyway, in your judgment, reflect upon brother officers or criticise officers of the Army or Navy.

* * * * *

Senator DIETRICH. Now, if you had had confidence in Aguinaldo and his army, and if you had recognized him as an ally, and he had had a well-equipped army—one that could be depended upon, one that you had had confidence in, you could have accepted the surrender of the Spanish governor-general and could have put Aguinaldo in charge of the city instead of waiting for the American soldiers, could you not?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes, and the fact that I did not accept the surrender would seem to bear out my opinion then that they were not to be trusted.

Senator DIETRICH. And had you had confidence in Aguinaldo and his so-called army, you certainly would have accepted the surrender?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes. That is if I had had perfect confidence.

Senator DIETRICH. And he had been an ally; and if you and he had been cooperating together, it would have been a natural thing for you to have placed Aguinaldo's army in Manila.

Admiral DEWEY. Yes. It never entered my head to do that.

Senator DIETRICH. You think it would have entered your head if there had been an alliance?

Admiral DEWEY. Yes. That is something new to me. I never thought of it till this moment, and the fact that I did not accept the surrender is proof to me—it never entered my head to let him come in.

Senator DIETRICH. And that you were not working in cooperation with him—with Aguinaldo—you were depending absolutely on the American forces, both the Army and the Navy, and the fact that you were waiting for the American Army to arrive was conclusive evidence that you and Aguinaldo had no alliance?

Admiral DEWEY. I think so. I thank you very much for putting that idea in that shape. It makes my testimony stronger.

EXPENSES IN THE PHILIPPINES.

The Secretary of War reported to the Senate June 19, 1902, that "the amount of money expended, and the amount," so far as practicable to state it, "for which the Government of the United States is liable, remaining unpaid for equipment, supplies, and military operations in the Philippine Islands each year from May 1, 1896, to the present time," aggregate \$170,326,586.11, as follows:

	Expenditures.	Liabilities.
Adjutant-General's Department.....	\$555.21	.....
Quartermaster's Department	74,344,895.17	\$462,158.92
Subsistence Department	21,252,272.98	.....
Pay Department	68,926,262.11	.....
Medical Department.....	8,878,756.58	4,251.14
Engineer Department	148,022.15	2,000.00
Ordnance Department.....	4,802,068.82	.....
Signal Office	1,822,712.88	4,668.23
Secretary's office:		
Disbursing clerk	7,188.80	.....
Requisitions and Accounts Division.....	171,818.67	.....
Total	169,858,512.82	478,078.29

In his official report the Secretary said:

"Attention is invited to the fact that large quantities of valuable property, such as ships, lighters, etc., horses and mules, wagons, harness, clothing, equipage and ordnance, medical, signal, and engineer supplies, the cost of which is included in the foregoing statement, still remain on hand in the Philippine Islands for use. Parts of these supplies are already being reshipped to this country.

"It should also be observed that a large part of the expense during the past year should not properly be treated as occasioned by military operations in the Philippine Islands, for the reason that it consists of pay and maintenance of troops whom we would have had to pay and maintain whether they were in the Philippines or not, in order to keep up the minimum number of regular troops required by law as a safeguard against future contingencies. The minimum at which the Regular Army is required to be maintained by the act of February 2, 1901, is 59,657 men, and the maximum is 100,000. We have now less than 10,000 in excess of the minimum number. The cost of that excess is properly to be treated as occasioned by operations in the Philippines.

"The present scale of expense in the Philippines is, of course, greatly reduced from that shown in the foregoing statement, because of the continuous reduction of the Army, made possible by the restoration of peaceful conditions. Thus in the middle of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, there were about 70,000 American soldiers in the islands. That number is now reduced to about 23,000. Orders have now been issued for the return of the Eighth, Fifteenth, Twenty-fourth, and Twenty-fifth Infantry, and a squadron of the Tenth Cavalry, and when these orders have been executed the number of American troops in the Philippines will have been reduced to 18,000. For the past six months we have been bringing troops home as rapidly as we could do so economically by the use of our own transports. Quarantine requirements have caused some delay in the movement of transports, but we are bringing the men home more rapidly than we can provide accommodations for them until appropriations contained in the pending appropriation bill for the support of the Army become available."

Of the foregoing amount the sum of \$4,803,448.21 was expended within the United States, paid to railways for transportation of troops and supplies; practically all of the \$74,000,000 expended by the quartermaster's department; the \$21,000,000 expended by the subsistence department, and the \$3,000,000 expended by the medical department was paid out in the United States for supplies furnished. The postal records show that a considerable portion of \$63,000,000 expended by the pay department was sent back by the boys in blue and the officers to their families in the United States, so that by far the greatest portion of the total expenditures went directly into the circulation of this country.

Barbarism has and can have no place in a civilized world. It is our duty toward the people living in barbarism to see that they are freed from their chains, and we can only free them by destroying barbarism itself. The missionary, the merchant, and the soldier may each have to play a part in this destruction, and in the consequent uplifting of the people.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

If, following the clear precepts of duty, territory falls to us, and the welfare of an alien people requires our guidance and protection, who will shirk from the responsibility, grave though it may be? Can we leave these people, who, by the fortunes of war and our own acts, are helpless and without government, to chaos and anarchy, after we have destroyed the only government they have had?—President McKinley, at Savannah, Ga., December 17, 1898.

TRADE WITH INSULAR TERRITORY.

BENEFITS TO COMMERCE BY THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII AND ACQUISITION OF PORTO RICO AND THE PHILIPPINES.

The benefits to the producers and consumers of the United States which have already accrued from the annexation of Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines in their increased consumption of our products and increased supply of the tropical articles for which the United States formerly sent its money into foreign countries, are readily seen in a study of the figures of the commerce with those islands since annexation, compared with that of preceding years. The control of the United States over Porto Rico dates from about August 1, 1898, and the Porto Rican act abolishing 85 per cent of the duty on goods passing between the United States and Porto Rico went into effect May 1, 1900; the remaining 15 per cent of the duty was removed July 25, 1901. The Hawaiian Islands have had practical freedom of interchange with the United States since the reciprocity treaty of 1876, and in the early part of 1897 applied for admission to the United States. On July 7, 1898, the joint resolution annexing the islands became a law and on August 12 of that year the islands were formally transferred to the United States.

On April 27, 1900, an act was passed providing a territorial form of government for the Hawaiian Islands, making them a customs district of the United States and removing the duties on the few articles of interchange that were not already free of duty under the reciprocity treaty. The Philippine Islands came under the control of the United States by the surrender of the city of Manila August 13, 1898, and by the treaty with Spain December 12, 1898. No change was made in the tariff relations with the United States, however, until March 8, 1902, when a law was enacted making a reduction of 25 per cent in the duties on merchandise entering the United States from the Philippines, though merchandise from the United States still pay the same rate of duty in the Philippine Islands as do those from foreign countries.

The fact that control of the United States over each of these islands began in 1898 seems to justify a study of the commerce with them beginning with the fiscal year 1897. Accurate figures for eleven months of the fiscal year 1902 have already been received and the figures for the month of June have been carefully estimated.

Porto Rico.—The following table shows the commerce of the United States with Porto Rico from 1897 to 1902:

Fiscal year	Imports into United States from Porto Rico.	Exports from United States to Porto Rico.
1897	\$2,181,024	\$1,988,888
1898	2,414,856	1,505,946
1899	3,179,827	2,685,848
1900	3,078,648	4,140,449
1901	5,883,892	6,861,917
1902*	7,000,000	10,000,000

*May and June estimated.

Porto Rico, it appears, has increased its supply of tropical articles for the markets of the United States from a little over two million dollars in 1897 to seven millions in 1902, and has meantime increased its purchases of our merchandise from a little less than two million dollars to ten millions. The chief articles which it supplies our markets are fruits, coffee, sugar, tobacco, hides, perfumery, and manufactures of straw and palm leaf. In exchange it takes from the United States cotton manufactures, manufactures of iron and steel, manufactures of leather, manufactures of wood, chemicals, drugs and medicines, breadstuffs, provisions, fish, vegetables, mineral oil, and coal. The sales of Porto Rico to the United States have more than trebled, while its purchases from the United States are about five times as much in 1902 as in 1897.

Hawaii.—The following table shows the commerce with the Hawaiian Islands since 1897, the figures of exports in 1901 and 1902 being necessarily estimates, by reason of the fact that no statistics of the shipments to those islands have been obtainable since they became a customs district of the United States:

Commerce of the United States with the Hawaiian Islands, 1897 to 1902.

Fiscal year.	Imports into United States from Hawaii.	Exports from United States to Hawaii.
1897	\$18,687,799	\$4,690,075
1898	17,187,980	5,907,155
1899	17,881,468	9,806,470
1900	20,707,908	18,509,148
1901	27,908,058	†20,000,000
1902*	26,500,000	†20,000,000

*June estimated.

†Estimated.

The contributions of the Hawaiian Islands to the requirements of the United States have, it appears, practically doubled since 1897 and their purchases of products of the United States are apparently about four times as much as in 1897. The chief articles

received from the Hawaiian Islands are sugar, coffee, and fruits, sugar forming probably 90 per cent of the total in value. The principal articles sent from the United States to the Hawaiian Islands are breadstuffs, provisions, manufactures of iron and steel, leather, cotton goods, lumber, and mineral oil.

The Philippines.—In the case of the Philippines the effect of annexation is, of course, less observable by reason of the fact that the continued existence of hostilities has held in check the producing power and consequently the consuming power of the population as a whole, though the presence of the United States Army has naturally increased the consumption of merchandise from the United States. The following table shows the commerce with the Philippines in each year from 1897 to 1902, the month of June, 1902, being estimated:

Fiscal year.	Imports into United States from the Philippines.	Exports from United States to the Philippines.
1897.....	\$4,888,740	\$94,597
1898.....	3,880,415	127,804
1899.....	4,409,774	404,198
1900.....	5,971,208	2,640,449
1901.....	4,420,912	4,027,064
1902.....	6,500,000	5,400,000

Imports.—The substantial increase in the commerce with those islands is more readily observed when the figures of the three groups, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines, are combined and compared with the total commerce of the United States meantime. The following table shows in the first column the total imports from Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands, and in the second column the total imports of the United States from 1897 to 1902. It will be seen that the imports from the islands practically doubled from 1897 to 1902, while the total imports were increasing but about 17 per cent:

Imports into the United States from Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands, and total imports of the United States, 1897 to 1902.

Fiscal year.	Imports from Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands.	Total imports.
1897.....	\$20,252,568	\$764,780,412
1898.....	23,482,151	616,049,654
1899.....	25,421,064	697,148,489
1900.....	29,757,759	849,941,184
1901.....	38,207,882	823,172,165
1902*.....	40,000,000	900,000,000

*June estimated.

Exports.—The following table shows the shipments from the United States to Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands from 1897 to 1902. The shipments to the islands increased from \$6,773,500 to about \$35,000,000, an increase of over 400 per cent, while the total exports increased from \$1,050,993,556 to about \$1,400,000,000, an increase of about 33 per cent.

Exports from the United States to Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippine Islands and Guam, and total exports of the United States, 1897 to 1902.

Fiscal year.	Exports to Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philip- pine Islands.	Total ex- ports of the United States.
1897.....	\$6,773,500	\$1 050,993,556
1898.....	7,540,905	1,281,482,330
1899.....	12,586,511	1,227,023,302
1900.....	20,790,046	1,394,488,062
1901.....	30,888,931	1,487,764,991
1902*.....	35,400,000	1,400,000,000

*May and June estimated.

EFFECT OF ANNEXATION.

The beneficial effect of annexation upon the islands themselves is shown by the increase of their production when the markets of the United States were opened to them. In the case of the Hawaiian Islands a sufficient time has elapsed since the reciprocity treaty of 1876 to afford opportunity for a study of this feature of the question. Such a study shows that the production of those islands increased enormously immediately following the new trade relations with the United States. In 1876 the sugar production of the Hawaiian Islands was 26,072,429 pounds; in 1879 their production had practically doubled, being 49,020,871 pounds; by 1882 it had more than quadrupled, being 114,177,938 pounds; by 1890 it was ten times as great as in 1876, being 545,370,537 pounds; and in the fiscal year 1901 was twenty-six times as great as in 1876, being 690,882,132 pounds. The value of the sugar production of the islands in 1876 was \$1,272,334, and in 1901 it was \$27,094,155, or twenty-two times as much as the production of 1876, its growth in value being, of course, less than in quantity because of the material fall in prices of sugar since 1876. In the case of Porto Rico, its proximity to the great consuming centers of the United States, which demand tropical fruits in great quantities as well as coffee, sugar, and other staples, seems to justify the expectation that an equally rapid growth may follow. The increase of the consuming power of the islands is of equal importance. The producing power of the Hawaiian Islands has increased more than twenty fold, as is shown

by the figures already quoted, and as a consequence of this increased purchasing power, its demand upon the United States for the products of our fields and factories has correspondingly increased. Exports from the United States to the Hawaiian Islands have grown from \$779,257 in 1876 to \$13,509,148 in the fiscal year 1900, and are estimated at \$20,000,000 for the year 1902. Prior to the existence of the reciprocity relations between the Hawaiian Islands and the United States the islands took less than 50 per cent of their imports from the United States; since that time they have taken from 75 to 85 per cent of their greatly increased imports from the United States.

The following table shows the commerce of the United States with the Hawaiian Islands from 1860 to 1902, at quinquennial periods:

Fiscal year.	Imports into United States from Hawaii.	Exports from United States to Hawaii.
1860.....	\$394,743	\$659,345
1865.....	573,784	648,247
1870.....	1,134,723	808,416
1875.....	1,373,681	662,164
1880.....	4,006,444	2,086,170
1885.....	8,857,497	2,787,922
1890.....	12,313,908	4,711,417
1895.....	7,888,961	8,723,057
1900.....	20,707,903	13,509,148
1901*.....	27,903,858	†20,000,000
1902*.....	26,500,000	†20,000,000

*Estimated.

†June estimated.

The effect of annexation of these island territories upon our standing in the Orient and our commerce with that part of the world is also important. Our exports to Asia and Oceania increased but \$26,000,000 in the five years from 1892 to 1897, while in the five years from 1897 to 1902 they have increased \$58,000,000, as is shown by the following table, which gives the total imports and exports of the United States in its commerce with Asia and Oceania in each year from 1892 to 1902. These figures include the commerce with the Hawaiian Islands, which since annexation are not officially included in the statistics of foreign commerce, but should of course be included in a study which covers a term of years—in most of which they were so included.

Not a blow has been struck except for liberty and humanity and none will be; we will perform without fear every national and international obligation.—President McKinley to Notification Committee, July 12, 1900.

Commerce of the United States with Asia and Oceania, 1892 to 1902.

Year.	Imports.	Exports.
1892.....	\$108,271,313	\$35,163,117
1893.....	113,621,824	27,421,821
1894.....	87,644,320	32,786,908
1895.....	95,077,290	30,434,288
1896.....	114,206,086	42,827,258
1897.....	111,695,036	61,927,073
1898.....	119,453,823	66,710,813
1899.....	134,089,091	78,235,176
1900.....	174,453,438	108,305,082
1901*.....	157,520,862	104,782,912
1902*.....	170,000,000	120,000,000

* Estimated, includes Hawaii.

No terms until the undisputed authority of the United States shall be acknowledged throughout the archipelago! After that Congress will make a government under the sovereignty of the United States.—President McKinley, at Milwaukee, Wis., October 16, 1899.

We speak in no spirit of arrogance when we state as a simple historic fact that never in recent years has any great nation acted with such disinterestedness as we have shown in Cuba. We freed the island from the Spanish yoke. We then earnestly did our best to help the Cubans in the establishment of free education, of law and order, of material prosperity, of the cleanliness necessary to sanitary well-being in their great cities.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

In short, in the work we have done we are but carrying out the true principles of our democracy. We work in a spirit of self-respect for ourselves and of good will toward others; in a spirit of love for and of infinite faith in mankind. We do not blindly refuse to face the evils that exist; or the shortcomings inherent in humanity; but across blundering and shirking, across selfishness and meanness of motive, across short-sightedness and cowardice, we gaze steadfastly toward the far horizon of golden triumph.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

Exactly as it is the duty of a civilized power scrupulously to respect the rights of all weaker civilized powers and gladly to help those who are struggling toward civilization, so it is its duty to put down savagery and barbarism.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

OUR PATRIOTIC ARMY.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S TRIBUTE TO THE SOLDIERS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

President Roosevelt in his Decoration Day address at Arlington, spoke for the soldiers of to-day as well as those of the civil war. As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, he defended the men who are serving under him from the malicious and unjust attacks of those who to oppose Republican policies assail the American soldier. The address was a notable one. It was as follows:

"During our four generations of national life we have had to do many tasks, and some of them of far-reaching importance; but the only really vital task was the one you did, the task of saving the Union. There were other crises in which to have gone wrong would have meant disaster; but this was the one crisis in which to have gone wrong would have meant not merely disaster but annihilation. For failure at any other point atonement could have been made, but had you failed in the iron days the loss would have been irreparable, the defeat irretrievable. Upon your success depended all the future of the people on this continent, and much of the future of mankind as a whole.

"You left us a reunited country. You left us the right of brotherhood with the men in gray, who with such courage, and such devotion for what they deemed the right, fought against you. But you left us much more even than your achievement, for you left us the memory of how it was achieved. You, who made good by your valor and patriotism the statesmanship of Lincoln and the soldiership of Grant, have set as the standards for our efforts in the future both the way you did your work in war and the way in which when the war was over you turned again to the work of peace. In war and in peace alike your example will stand as the wisest of lessons to us and our children and our children's children.

Punishment for Atrocities in Philippines.—"Just at this moment the Army of the United States, led by men who served among you in the great war, is carrying to completion a small but peculiarly trying and difficult war, in which is involved not only the honor of the flag, but the triumph of civilization over forces which stand for the black chaos of savagery and barbarism. The task has not been so difficult or so important as yours; but, oh! my comrades, the men in the uniform of the United States, who have for the last three years patiently and uncomplainingly championed the American cause in the Philippine Islands, are your younger brothers,

your sons. They have shown themselves not unworthy of you, and they are entitled to the support of all men who are proud of what you did.

"These younger comrades of yours have fought under terrible difficulties and have received terrible provocation from a very cruel and very treacherous enemy. Under the strain of these provocations I deeply deplore to say that some among them have so far forgotten themselves as to counsel and commit, in retaliation, acts of cruelty. The fact that for every guilty act committed by one of our troops an hundred acts of far greater ferocity have been committed by the hostile natives upon our troops, or upon the peaceable and law-abiding natives who are friendly to us, cannot be held to excuse any wrongdoer on our side. Determined and unswerving effort must be made, and is being made, to find out every instance of barbarity on the part of our troops, to punish those guilty of it and to take, if possible, even stronger measures than have already been taken to minimize or prevent the occurrence of all such instances in the future.

Men Who Fail to Condemn Lynchings, but Traduce the Army.—

"From time to time there occur in our country, to the deep and lasting shame of our people, lynchings, carried on under circumstances of inhuman cruelty and barbarity—a cruelty infinitely worse than any that has ever been committed by our troops in the Philippines; worse to the victims, and far more brutalizing to those guilty of it. The men who fail to condemn these lynchings, and yet clamor about what has been done in the Philippines, are indeed guilty of neglecting the beam in their own eye while taunting their brother about the mote in his. Understand me. These lynchings afford us no excuse for failure to stop cruelty in the Philippines. Every effort is being made, and will be made, to minimize the chances of cruelty occurring.

Stories of Cruelties Shamelessly Exaggerated.—"But keep in mind that these cruelties in the Philippines have been wholly exceptional, and have been shamelessly exaggerated. We deeply and bitterly regret that any such cruelties should have been committed, no matter how rarely, no matter under what provocation, by American troops. But they afford far less justification for a general condemnation of our Army than these lynchings afford for the condemnation of the communities in which they have taken place.

In each case it is well to condemn the deed, and it is well also to refrain from including both guilty and innocent in the same sweeping condemnation.

In every community there are people who commit acts of well-nigh inconceivable horror and baseness. If we fix our eyes only on these individuals and upon their acts, and if we forget the

far more numerous citizens of upright and honest life and blind ourselves to their countless deeds of wisdom and justice and philanthropy, it is easy enough to condemn the community. There is not a city in this land which we could not thus condemn if we fixed our eyes purely upon its police record and refused to look at what it had accomplished for decency and justice and charity. Yet this is exactly the attitude which has been taken by too many men with reference to our Army in the Philippines; and it is an attitude both absurd and cruelly unjust.

"The rules of warfare which have been promulgated by the War Department and accepted as the basis of conduct by our troops in the field are the rules laid down by Abraham Lincoln when you, my hearers, were fighting for the Union. These rules provide, of course, for the just severity necessary in war. The most destructive of all forms of cruelty would be to show weakness where sternness is demanded by iron need. But all cruelty is forbidden, and all harshness beyond what is called for by need. Our enemies in the Philippines have not merely violated every rule of war, but have made of these violations their only method of carrying on the war. We would have been justified by Abraham Lincoln's rules of war in infinitely greater severity than has been shown.

Philippine Warfare Carried on with Singular Humanity.—"The fact really is that our warfare in the Philippines has been carried on with singular humanity. For every act of cruelty by our men there have been innumerable acts of forbearance, magnanimity, and generous kindness. These are the qualities which have characterized the war as a whole. The cruelties have been wholly exceptional on our part.

"The guilty are to be punished; but in punishing them, let those who sit at ease at home, who walk delicately and live in the soft places of the earth, remember also to do them common justice. Let not the effortless and the untempted rail overmuch at strong men who with blood and sweat face years of toil and days and nights of agony, and at need lay down their lives in remote tropic jungles to bring the light of civilization into the world's dark places. The warfare that has extended the boundaries of civilization at the expense of barbarism and savagery has been for centuries one of the most potent factors in the progress of humanity. Yet from its very nature it has always and everywhere been liable to dark abuses.

"It behooves us to keep a vigilant watch to prevent these abuses and to punish those who commit them; but if because of them we flinch from finishing the task on which we have entered, we show ourselves cravens and weaklings, unworthy of the stress from whose loins we sprang. There were abuses and to spare in the civil war.

Your false friends then called Grant a 'butcher' and spoke of you who are listening to me as mercenaries, as 'Lincoln hirelings.' Your open foes—as in the resolution passed by the Confederate Congress in October, 1862—accused you, at great length, and with much particularity, of 'contemptuous disregard of the usages of civilized war'; of subjecting women and children to 'banishment, imprisonment, and death'; of 'murder,' of 'rapine,' of 'outrages on women' of 'lawless cruelty,' of 'perpetrating atrocities which would be disgraceful to savages'; and Abraham Lincoln was singled out for especial attack because of his 'spirit of barbarous ferocity.' Verily, these men who thus foully slandered you have their heirs to-day in those who traduce our armies in the Philippines, who fix their eyes on individual deeds of wrong so keenly that at last they become blind to the great work of peace and freedom that has already been accomplished.

"Peace and freedom—are there two better objects for which a soldier can fight? Well, these are precisely the objects for which our soldiers are fighting in the Philippines. When there is talk of the cruelties committed in the Philippines, remember always that by far the greater proportion of these cruelties have been committed by the insurgents against their own people—as well as against our soldiers—and that not only the surest but the only effectual way of stopping them is by the progress of the American arms. The victories of the American army have been the really effective means of putting a stop to cruelty in the Philippines. Wherever these victories have been complete—and such is now the case throughout the greater part of the islands—all cruelties have ceased, and the native is secure in his life, his liberty, and his pursuit of happiness. Where the insurrection still smolders there is always a chance for cruelty to show itself.

Just and Responsible Civil Rule to the Conquered.—"Our soldiers conquer; and what is the object for which they conquer? To establish a military government? No. The laws we are now endeavoring to enact for the government of the Philippines are to increase the power and domain of the civil at the expense of the military authorities, and to render even more difficult than in the past the chance of oppression. The military power is used to secure peace, in order that it may itself be supplanted by the civil government. The progress of the American arms means the abolition of cruelty, the bringing of peace, and the rule of law and order under the civil government. Other nations have conquered to create irresponsible military rule. We conquer to bring just and responsible civil government to the conquered.

Our Armies Bring Freedom.—"But our armies do more than bring peace, do more than bring order. They bring freedom. Remember

always that the independence of a tribe or a community may, and often does, have nothing whatever to do with the freedom of the individual in that tribe or community. There are now in Asia and Africa scores of despotic monarchies, each of which is independent, and in no one of which is there the slightest vestige of freedom for the individual man. Scant indeed is the gain to mankind from the 'independence' of a blood-stained tyrant who rules over abject and brutalized slaves. But great is the gain to humanity which follows the steady though slow introduction of the orderly liberty, the law-abiding freedom of the individual, which is the only sure foundation upon which national independence can be built. Wherever in the Philippines the insurrection has been definitely and finally put down, there the individual Filipino already enjoys such freedom, such personal liberty, under our rule, as he could never even dream of under the rule of an 'independent' Aguinaldian oligarchy.

Future of Islands Will be Decided When Natives Show Capacity for Self Rule.— "The slowly learned and difficult art of self-government, an art which our people have taught themselves by the labor of a thousand years, cannot be grasped in a day by a people only just emerging from conditions of life which our ancestors left behind them in the dim years before history dawned. We believe that we can rapidly teach the people of the Philippine Islands not only to enjoy, but how to make good use of their freedom; and with their growing knowledge their growth in self-government shall keep steady pace. When they have thus shown their capacity for real freedom by their power of self-government, then, and not till then, will it be possible to decide whether they are to exist independently of us or be knit to us by ties of common friendship and interest. When that day will come it is not in human wisdom now to foretell. All that we can say with certainty is that it would be put back an immeasurable distance if we should yield to the counsels of unmanly weakness and turn loose the islands, to see our victorious foes butcher with revolting cruelty our betrayed friends, and shed the blood of the most humane, the most enlightened, the most peaceful, the wisest and the best of their own number—for these are the classes who have already learned to welcome our rule.

"Nor, while fully acknowledging our duties to others, need we forget our duty to our own country. The Pacific seaboard is as much to us as the Atlantic; as we grow in power and prosperity so our interest will grow in that farthest West which is the immemorial East. The shadow of our destiny has already reached to the shores of Asia. The might of our people already looms large against the world horizon; and it will loom ever larger as the years go by. No statesman has a right to neglect the interests of our

people in the Pacific; interests which are important to all our people, but which are of most importance to those of our people who have built populous and thriving States on the western slope of our continent.

Philippines Should be no Party Question.—"This should no more be a party question than the war for the Union should have been a party question. At this moment the man in highest office in the Philippines is the vice-governor, General Luke Wright, of Tennessee, who gallantly wore the gray in the civil war, and who is now working hand in hand with the head of our Army in the Philippines, Adna Chaffee, who, in the civil war, gallantly wore the blue. Those two, and the men under them, from the North and from the South, in civil life and in military life, as teachers, as administrators, as soldiers, are laboring mightily for us who live at home. Here and there black sheep are to be found among them; but taken as a whole they represent as high a standard of public service as this country has ever seen. They are doing a great work for civilization, a great work for the honor and the interest of this nation, and above all for the welfare of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands. All honor to them; and shame, thrice shame, to us if we fail to uphold their hands!"

DEMOCRATIC APPROVAL.

The Brooklyn Eagle, one of the great and patriotic Democratic newspapers of the country, gave hearty approval to the President's address and rebuked those Democrats who made necessary such plain statements from the Chief Executive, by their cowardly attacks on the Army. An editorial in the Brooklyn Eagle of May 30, 1902, was as follows:

"The address of President Roosevelt at Arlington Cemetery to-day is printed in this paper. He talked to the survivors of the old Army about the men of the new. He defended the soldiers that are in the Philippines to the soldiers that were for the North and the Union in the South, in the times which the President names as the iron years of our nation's life. Mr. Roosevelt has similarly but never so well before described the supreme place which the preservation of the Union takes in American history and the unsurpassed place which it takes in the history of government among men. He notes the bravery and honor of all the soldiers in the civil war, the matchless estate and benefit and the unique and infinite wealth of valor which that war brought to North and South both. He turns all that to the account of the Army and Navy now, in the work which they are doing for freedom and for peace

in far away places against savage foes and amid malign conditions, where they are, as well as under the impact of infamously unnatural opprobrium from the friends of the enemies of their country at home.

"The intensity of his indignation, the warmth of his tribute, the sternness of his purpose, the elemental strength of his eloquence, and the keen sense of his suggestions, as well as the unmistakable candor and clearness of his words as to the future, will have a strong effect. Those who like what he says, who honor him for saying it and who have sustained him and who will sustain him in carrying it out will be inspired and strengthened by his address. Those whom that address indicts or nails or pillories or brands or stings will recognize in his words a rebuke hard to bear, in his personality an incarnated courage and conscience that should be their pride, but can only be their envy, or their shame and their despair. And in the overwhelming support which he will receive they will see a proof of their condemnation by the people as absolute, as depressing and as final as the warrant read to men just before they are taken to the chamber and chair of electric death.

"The splendor of the address is the splendor of illuminated manhood. The strength of it is the strength of manifest right. Not, we think, since Lincoln's words at Gettysburg has the constitutional Commander-in-Chief of the Army and of the Navy of the United States said that which will be longer remembered, or which more deserves always to be kept in mind. Truly, the baptism of duty and the touch of destiny have made—or revealed—this President to be a thinker and a leader who can carry his countrymen with him in all things in which he is just himself, forgetful of party, compact of patriotism, resolute for the right and as scornful of political cunning as of personal consequences.

"The address is in all parts patriotic and eloquent, but in none merely rhetorical. It sums the past, portrays the present, and faces the future. Its summary of the past is accurate to nicety, and discriminating to the very shade of justice. Its portraiture of the present not only glorifies the Army and the Navy as a whole, but scarifies those of their number who have yielded to the temptation to retaliate on savages the outrages of savages on our men. It also classes and characterizes the wholesale contemners of the Army in words that will neither down nor die. The President likewise meets the propositions not merely of the hour, but of the far future with regard to the Philippines in a way to show that ordered liberty, graduated government regulated right, taught truth and trained purpose of fittedness for freedom enter into the veritable missionary movement of our Army in the archipelago.

"The programme is and looms so large as to appall some. The de-

tails are so many as to fatigue others. Both the magnitude of the project and the multitude of the particulars invite pessimism, stimulate apprehension, and lately did give apparent immunity to partisan defamation. But the work of contemporary Copperheadism has been overdone. Those who resorted to it are running away from it, and denying their responsibility for it. This nation never did desert, decry, defame, or fail to honor its Army or its Navy. This nation never will. It has set them to no tasks of which it is ashamed; to none by which the world has not been made better; to none which has not made the bounds of ordered freedom wider yet. The liberated thought, the stored statesmanship, and the luminous and pulsing power of the President's words to-day lift the occasion of the address to a high importance and make and mark an event of long and shaping significance in our history."

WASHINGTON IN 1799; CHAFFEE IN 1902.

In 1799 Lieut.-Gen. George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army, organized an expedition against the hostile tribes of the Six Nations of Indians. In his instructions to Major-General Sullivan, in command of the expedition, he then said:

"The immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of the Indian settlements and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible. After you have very thoroughly completed the destruction of their settlements, if the Indians should show a disposition for peace, I would have you encourage it on condition that they will give some decisive evidence of their sincerity by delivering up some of the principal instigators of past hostility into our hands."

Washington aimed not only to punish the Indians, but to seize the renegades who had incited the disturbances. He was in favor of peace after punishment. On this point he said:

"But you will not by any means listen to overtures of peace before the total ruin of their settlements is effected. Our future security will be in their inability to injure us, the distance to which they are driven, and in the terror with which the severity of the chastisement they receive will inspire them. Peace without this ~~would~~ be fallacious and temporary."

General Sullivan carried out his instructions to the letter. He ~~had~~ **destroyed** more than 100 Indian towns, all the growing corn, all ~~fields~~ **fields** that had been planted, and when he was done he ~~re-~~ **reported** to Washington:

There is not a single town in the country of the Six Nations. There is not, at this time, even the appearance of an Indian on this

side of the Chenessee, and I believe there is not one on this side of the Niagara, nor is there any kind of sustenance left for them in this country."

On October 9, 1799, only two months before his death, General Washington sent Sullivan's report to Congress with this comment:

"I congratulate Congress on General Sullivan having completed so effectually the destruction of the whole of the towns and settlements of the hostile Indians in so short a time and with so inconsiderable loss of men."

Yet no man in Congress rose to denounce Washington and Sullivan as monsters of cruelty.

Why was it a fine act for Washington to make a howling wilderness among the Indian savages in 1799 and a black crime for Chaffee to make a howling wilderness among the Samar savages in 1902?—Chicago Inter-Ocean.

The future is now our field; let us look to it; it opens with glorious possibilities and invites the party of ideas to enter and possess it.—Major McKinley, at Dayton, Ohio, October 18, 1887.

Great corporations exist only because they are created and safe-guarded by our institutions; and it is, therefore, our right and our duty to see that they work in harmony with these institutions.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

As in such a work human instruments must be used, and as human instruments are imperfect, this means that at times there will be injustice; that at times merchant, or soldier, or even missionary may do wrong. Let us instantly condemn and rectify such wrong when it occurs, and if possible punish the wrongdoer. But shame, thrice shame to us, if we are so foolish as to make such occasional wrongdoing an excuse for failing to perform a great and righteous task.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

No other citizens deserve so well of the Republic as the veterans, the survivors of those who saved the Union. They did the one deed which if left undone would have meant that all else in our history went for nothing. But for their steadfast prowess in the greatest crisis of our history, all our annals would be meaningless, and our great experiment in popular freedom and self-government a gloomy failure. Moreover, they not only left us a united nation, but they left us also as a heritage the memory of the mighty deeds by which the nation was kept united.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

THE FORAKER ACT.

CONSTITUTIONAL POWER OF CONGRESS TO GOVERN TERRITORY SUSTAINED BY SUPREME COURT.

"The Foraker Act temporarily to provide revenues and a civil government for Porto Rico and for other purposes," which was the cause of so much discussion in 1900, has been approved by the Supreme Court. The tariff clause of that act was the bone of contention, because it provided that there should be collected, on all imports from Porto Rico into the United States and upon all imports into Porto Rico from the United States, duties equal to 15 per cent of the Dingley tariff rates, the same to be applied to the revenues of Porto Rico until the legislative assembly of the island should put into operation a system of local taxation to meet the expenses of government, but in no event extend beyond the 1st day of March, 1902. This act served two very important purposes. It provided revenues for the government of Porto Rico, without which, Governor Allen says in his report, "there would have been a lack of sufficient funds to meet the most ordinary requirements of the government."

The act served a greater purpose, however, in providing the means for a judicial opinion settling the mooted question of the constitution extending *ex proprio rigore* to all new territory acquired by the United States. This was the great question regarding the Philippines, and it became important that the power of Congress to legislate for and govern territory without extending to that territory all the rights held by States, should be settled. The Supreme Court of the United States has settled that question in its opinion in the Downes Case, handed down May 27, 1901, and also in the Dooley Case, decided December 2, 1901. The court in these two cases decided that the Constitution does not extend to new territory of its own force, and that the Foraker Act is constitutional. The Downes Case involved the question whether merchandise brought into the port of New York from Porto Rico since the passage of the Foraker Act was exempt from duty notwithstanding the third section of that act, which requires the payment of "15 per centum of the duties which are required to be levied, collected, and paid upon like articles of merchandise imported from foreign countries."

Justice Brown announced the conclusion and judgment of the court in the Downes Case, and in part his opinion was as follows:

The Constitution Created for States.—"It is sufficient to observe in relation to these three fundamental instruments that it can nowhere be inferred that the territories were considered a part of the United States. The Constitution was created by the people of the United States as a union of States, to be governed solely by representatives of the States; and even the provision relied upon here, that all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform 'throughout the United States,' is explained by subsequent provisions of the Constitution, that 'no tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State,' and 'no preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.' In short, the Constitution deals with States, their people, and their representatives.

"The Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting slavery and involuntary servitude 'within the United States, or in any place subject to their jurisdiction,' is also significant as showing that there may be places within the jurisdiction of the United States that are no part of the Union. To say that the phraseology of this amendment was due to the fact that it was intended to prohibit slavery in the seceded States, under a possible interpretation that those States were no longer a part of the Union, is to confess the very point at issue, since it involves an admission that, if these States were not a part of the Union, they were still subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

"Upon the other hand, the Fourteenth Amendment, upon the subject of citizenship, declares only that 'all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the States wherein they reside.' Here there is a limitation to persons born or naturalized in the United States which is not extended to persons born in any place 'subject to their jurisdiction.'

Powers of Congress.—" * * * Indeed, the practical interpretation put by Congress upon the Constitution has been long continued and uniform to the effect that the Constitution is applicable to territories acquired by purchase or conquest only when and so far as Congress shall direct. Notwithstanding its duty to 'guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government (Art. IV, sec. 4), by which we understand, according to the definition of Webster, 'a government in which the supreme power resides in the whole body of the people, and is exercised by representatives elected by them,' Congress did not hesitate, in the original organization of the territories of Louisiana, Florida, the

Northwest Territory, and its subdivisions of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and still more recently in the case of Alaska, to establish a form of government bearing a much greater analogy to a British Crown colony than a republican State of America, and to vest the legislative power either in a governor and council, or a governor and judges, to be appointed by the President. It was not until they had attained a certain population that power was given them to organize a legislature by vote of the people. In all these cases, as well as in territories subsequently organized west of the Mississippi, Congress thought it necessary either to extend the Constitution and laws of the United States over them, or to declare that the inhabitants should be entitled to enjoy the right of trial by jury, of bail, and of the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, as well as other privileges of the bill of rights.

"We are also of the opinion that the power to acquire territory by treaty implies not only the power to govern such territory, but to prescribe upon what terms the United States will receive its inhabitants, and what their status shall be in what Chief Justice Marshall termed the 'American Empire.' There seems to be no middle ground between this position and the doctrine that if the inhabitants do not become, immediately upon annexation, citizens of the United States, their children thereafter born, whether savages or civilized, are such, and entitled to all rights, privileges, and immunities of citizens. If such be their status, the consequence will be extremely serious. Indeed it is doubtful if Congress would ever assent to the annexation of territory upon the condition that its inhabitants, however foreign they may be to our habits, traditions, and modes of life, shall become at once citizens of the United States. In all its treaties hitherto the treaty-making power has made special provision ~~for~~ this subject; in the cases of Louisiana and Florida, by stipulating that 'the inhabitants shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible * * * to the enjoyment of all rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States;' in the case of Mexico, that they should 'be incorporated into the Union, and be admitted at the proper time (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States), to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States;' in the case of Alaska, that the inhabitants who remained three years, 'with the exception of uncivilized native tribes, shall be admitted to the enjoyment of all the rights,' etc., and in the case of Porto Rico and the Philippines, 'that the civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants * * * shall be determined by Congress.' In all these cases

there is an implied denial of the right of the inhabitants to American citizenship until Congress by further action shall signify its assent thereto.

"Grave apprehensions of danger are felt by many eminent men—a fear lest an unrestrained possession of power on the part of Congress may lead to unjust and oppressive legislation, in which the natural rights of territories, or their inhabitants, may be engulfed in a centralized despotism. These fears, however, find no justification in the action of Congress in the past century, nor in the conduct of the British Parliament toward its outlying possessions since the American Revolution. Indeed, in the only instance in which this court has declared an act of Congress unconstitutional as trespassing upon the rights of territories (the Missouri Compromise), such action was dictated by motives of humanity and justice, and so far commanded popular approval as to be embodied in the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. There are certain principles of natural justice inherent in the Anglo-Saxon character which need no expression in constitutions or statutes to give them effect or to secure dependencies against legislation manifestly hostile to their real interests. Even in the Foraker Act itself, the constitutionality of which is so vigorously assailed, power was given to the legislative assembly of Porto Rico to repeal the very tariff in question in this case, a power it has not seen fit to exercise. The words of Chief Justice Marshall in *Gibbons v. Ogden* (9 Wheat., 1), with respect to the power of Congress to regulate commerce, are pertinent in this connection: 'This power,' said he, 'like all others vested in Congress, is complete in itself, may be exercised to its utmost extent, and acknowledges no limitations other than are prescribed in the Constitution. * * * The wisdom and discretion of Congress, their identity with the people, and the influence which their constituents possess at elections are in this, as in many other instances, as that, for example, of declaring war, the sole restraints on which they have relied to secure them from its abuse. They are the restraints on which the people must often rely on solely in all representative governments.'"

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Large Powers Necessary.—"Large powers must necessarily be intrusted to Congress in dealing with these problems, and we are bound to assume that they will be judiciously exercised. That these powers may be abused is possible. But the same may be said of its powers under the Constitution as well as outside of it. Human wisdom has never devised a form of government so perfect that it may not be perverted to bad purposes. It is never conclusive to argue against the possession of certain powers from

possible abuse of them. It is safe to say that if Congress should venture upon legislation manifestly dictated by selfish interests, it would receive quick rebuke at the hands of the people. Indeed, it is scarcely possible that Congress could do a greater injustice to these islands than would be involved in holding that it could not impose upon the State taxes and excises without extending the same taxes to them. Such requirement would bring them at once within our internal-revenue system, including stamps, licenses, excises, and all of the paraphernalia of that system, and applying it to territories which have had no experience of this kind, and where it would prove an intolerable burden.

"This subject was carefully considered by the Senate Committee in charge of the Foraker bill, which found, after an examination of the facts, that property in Porto Rico was already burdened with a private debt amounting probably to \$30,000,000; that no system of property taxation was or ever had been in force in the island, and that it would probably require two years to inaugurate one and secure returns from it; that the revenues had always been chiefly raised by duties on imports and exports, and that our internal revenue laws, if applied in that island, would prove oppressive and ruinous to many people and interests; that to undertake to collect our heavy internal revenue tax, far heavier than Spain ever imposed upon their products and vocations, would be to invite violations of the law so innumerable as to make prosecutions impossible, and to almost certainly alienate and destroy the friendship and good will of that people for the United States.

"In passing upon the questions involved in this and kindred cases, we ought not to overlook the fact that, while the Constitution was intended to establish a permanent form of government for the States which should elect to take advantage of its conditions, and continue for an indefinite future, the vast possibilities of that future could never have entered the minds of its framers. The States had but recently emerged from a war with one of the most powerful nations of Europe; were disheartened by the failure of the confederacy, and were doubtful as to the feasibility of a stronger union. Their territory was confined to a narrow strip of land on the Atlantic coast from Canada to Florida, with a somewhat indefinite claim to territory beyond the Alleghanies, where their sovereignty was disputed by tribes of hostile Indians supported, as was popularly believed, by the British, who had never formally delivered possession under the treaty of peace. The vast territory beyond the Mississippi, which formerly had been claimed by France, since 1762 had belonged to Spain, still a powerful nation, and the owner of a great part of the Western Hemisphere.

Under these circumstances it is little wonder that the question of annexing these territories was not made a subject of debate. The difficulties of bringing about a union of the States were so great, the objections to it seemed so formidable, that the whole thought of the convention centered upon surmounting these obstacles. The question of territories was dismissed with a single clause, apparently applicable only to the territories then existing, giving Congress the power to govern and dispose of them.

Acquisition of Territory.—Had the acquisition of other territories been contemplated as a possibility, could it have been foreseen that, within little more than one hundred years, we were destined to acquire not only the whole vast region between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, but the Russian possessions in America and distant islands in the Pacific, it is incredible that no provision should have been made for them, and the question whether the Constitution should or should not extend to them have been definitely settled. If it be once conceded that we are at liberty to acquire foreign territory, a presumption arises that our power with respect to such territories is the same power which other nations have been accustomed to exercise with respect to territories acquired by them. If, in limiting the power which Congress was to exercise within the United States, it was also intended to limit it with regard to such territories as the people of the United States should thereafter acquire, such limitations should have been expressed. Instead of that, we find the Constitution speaking only to States, except in the territorial clause, which is absolute in its terms, and suggestive of no limitations upon the power of Congress in dealing with them. The States could only delegate to Congress such powers as they themselves possessed, and as they had no power to acquire new territory they had none to delegate in that connection. The logical inference from this is, that if Congress had power to acquire new territory, which is conceded, that power was not hampered by the constitutional provisions. If, upon the other hand, we assume that the territorial clause of the Constitution was not intended to be restricted to such territory as the United States then possessed, there is nothing in the Constitution to indicate that the power of Congress in dealing with them was intended to be restricted by any of the other provisions.

“There is a provision that ‘new States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union.’ These words, of course, carry the Constitution with them, but nothing is said regarding the acquisition of new territories or the extension of the Constitution over them. The liberality of Congress in legislating the Constitution into all our contiguous territories has undoubtedly fostered the impres-

sion that it went there by its own force, but there is nothing in the Constitution itself, and little in the interpretation put upon it to confirm that impression. There is not even an analogy to the provisions of an ordinary mortgage for its attachment to after-acquired property, without which it covers only property existing at the date of the mortgage. In short, there is absolute silence upon the subject. The Executive and Legislative Departments of the Government have for more than a century interpreted this silence as precluding the idea that the Constitution attached to these territories as soon as acquired, and unless such interpretation be manifestly contrary to the letter or spirit of the Constitution, it should be followed by the Judicial Department. (Cooley's Const. Lim., secs. 81 to 85; *Lithographic Co. v. Sarony*, 111 U. S., 53, 57; *Field v. Clark*, 143 U. S., 649, 691.)

A Political Question.—Patriotic and intelligent men may differ widely as to the desirableness of this or that acquisition, but this is solely a political question. We can only consider this aspect of the case so far as to say that no construction of the Constitution should be adopted which would prevent Congress from considering each case upon its merits, unless the language of the instrument imperatively demand it. A false step at this time might be fatal to the development of what Chief Justice Marshall called 'the American Empire.' Choice in some cases, the natural gravitation of small bodies toward large ones in others, the result of a successful war in still others, may bring about conditions which would render the annexation of distant possessions desirable. If those possessions are inhabited by alien races, differing from us in religion, customs, laws, methods of taxation, and modes of thought, the administration of government and justice, according to Anglo-Saxon principles, may for a time be impossible; and the question at once arises whether large concessions ought not to be made for a time, that, ultimately, our own theories may be carried out, and the blessings of a free government under the Constitution extended to them. We decline to hold that there is anything in the Constitution to forbid such action.

We are therefore of opinion that the Island of Porto Rico is a territory appurtenant and belonging to the United States, but not a part of the United States within the revenue clauses of the Constitution; that the Foraker Act is constitutional, so far as it imposes duties upon imports from such island, and that the plaintiff can not recover back the duties exacted in this case.

The judgment of the circuit court is therefore affirmed.

THE GOLD STANDARD.

WHAT THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS DONE TO ESTABLISH A SOUND FINANCIAL SYSTEM.

The gold standard law, passed by a Republican Congress and signed by a Republican President on March 14, 1900, is one of the most important political acts since the Proclamation of Emancipation. The decree that struck the shackles from four million slaves was a military measure aimed at the destruction of the Southern Confederacy. The law that riveted our finances to the gold basis was a measure of peace and preservation, ending distrust of the nation's ability to meet its obligations, and giving stability to our home industries and our vast and rapidly expanding commerce. Each sprang from a strong moral impulse to put an end to wrong and menace, and each was followed by results of such transcendent importance to the country as to mark an epoch in our national history.

Months before the assembling of the St. Louis Convention in 1896, many thoughtful Republicans felt that the time had come for the party to speak out strongly on the money question and to make a decided stand against the free silver heresy that had swept the West and South from their moorings and which threatened to engulf the East. Their influence prevailed over timid counsels, and the platform adopted contained a declaration for the gold standard that put the matter beyond doubt or question. It said:

"The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

"We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth."

The effect of this declaration on the country was profound.

Conservative Democrats, representing the best thought and intelligence of that party, and despairing of its early return to sound principles, began to support the Republican ticket. When the Democratic Convention a few weeks later went to extremes with its free silver platform, the desertion of the Gold Democrats, as they became popularly known, swelled to such a tide as to assure McKinley's election and remove anxiety over those so-called silver Republicans in the Northwest and the Rocky Mountain States, who supported the Democratic ticket.

The Indianapolis Convention.—Two months after the election, that is, in January, 1897, a notable convention was held at Indianapolis. This was not a political convention, but one of business men representing every important chamber of commerce, board of trade, or other commercial organizations within the United States. Three hundred and fifty delegates attended, all animated by the same purpose of considering how the existing monetary system could be made safe and strong and adapted to the necessities of a great and growing country, and how public sentiment could be best concentrated upon that improvement. These delegates resolved that the gold standard ought to be maintained; that the United States notes and Treasury notes ought to be retired, yet so gradually as not to injuriously contract the currency, and that a banking system ought to be established that should furnish facilities of credit to every part of the country, a safe and elastic currency, and secure such a distribution of the loanable capital as would equalize interest rates. It was also resolved that an executive committee should be created with power to represent the convention in these and other related matters and to organize a commission of business men to report upon the whole subject if Congress should fail to act upon the monetary question. The chairman selected for the executive committee was Mr. Hugh H. Hanna, a manufacturer of Indianapolis, a man peculiarly fitted by temperament, training, and experience for this important and delicate work. The committee found President-elect McKinley sympathetic and responsive, and in his inaugural address he thus referred to the subject:

"The country is suffering from industrial disturbances from which speedy relief must be had. Our financial system needs some revision; our money is all good now, but its value must not be further threatened. It should all be put upon an enduring basis, not subject to easy attack, nor its stability to doubt or dispute. Our currency should continue under the supervision of the Government. The several forms of our paper money offer, in my judgment, a constant embarrassment to the Government, and imperil a safe balance in the Treasury. Therefore I believe it necessary

to devise a system which, without diminishing the circulating medium or offering a premium for its contraction, will present a remedy for those derangements which, temporary in their nature, might well in the years of our prosperity have been displaced by wiser provisions. With adequate revenue secured, but not until then, we can enter upon such changes in our fiscal laws as will, while securing safety and volume to our money, no longer impose upon the Government the necessity of maintaining so large a gold reserve, with its attendant and inevitable temptations to speculation. Most of our financial laws are the outgrowth of experience and trial, and should not be amended without investigation and demonstration of the wisdom of the proposed changes. We must be both 'sure we are right' and 'make haste slowly.' If, therefore, Congress in its wisdom shall deem it expedient to create a commission to take under early consideration the revision of our coinage, banking, and currency laws, and give them that exhaustive, careful, and dispassionate examination that their importance demands, I shall cordially concur in such action. If such power is vested in the President, it is my purpose to appoint a commission of prominent, well-informed citizens of different parties, who will command public confidence both on account of their ability and special fitness for the work. Business enterprise and public training may thus be combined, and the patriotic zeal of the friends of the country be so directed that such a report will be made as to receive the support of all parties, and our finances cease to be the subject of mere partisan contention. The experiment is, at all events, worth a trial, and, in my opinion, it can but prove beneficial to the entire country."

Proposed Currency Convention.—At the special session of 1897 President McKinley sent to Congress a message recommending the creation of a non-partisan currency commission. The resolution passed the House promptly, but a free silver majority in the Senate smothered it in committee, and the session ended without final action. So long as the Senate was controlled by its free silver majority currency legislation was impossible. But the Indianapolis committee, encouraged by President McKinley, continued its campaign of education for the gold standard, and was ably supported by the sound money press, irrespective of political affiliations. Shortly before the close of the Fifty-fifth Congress, and when it was seen that the next Senate would be a sound-money body, a caucus of House Republicans was called to consider the question of appointing a special committee of members who had been re-elected to the next Congress, to sit during the recess and prepare a plan of monetary revision to be submitted to the Fifty-sixth Congress the following December. A resolution by Mr. Henderson, of Iowa,

to create a committee of eleven members, was adopted with practical unanimity, and a week later the caucus chairman, Mr. Grosvenor, of Ohio, announced its membership. The committee was well chosen geographically and typical in public ability and character. Mr. Henderson was named for chairman, and the other members were Messrs. Dalzell, of Pennsylvania; Payne, of New York; Overstreet, of Indiana; Curtis, of Kansas; Lovering, of Massachusetts; Morris, of Minnesota; Hawley, of Texas; Loud, of California; Babcock, of Wisconsin, and Kerr, of Ohio.

Preparing the Gold Standard Bills.—Equally important was the action of the Senate Finance Committee, which received permission to sit during the summer for the known purpose of framing a bill upon the monetary question. The House committee was the first to meet, and its members assembled at Atlantic City on April 17, 1899. Three daily sessions, participated in by all the members, resulted in the preparation of a bill making the gold dollar the standard unit of value, with United States notes, Treasury notes, and all interest-bearing obligations payable in gold. The fiscal and revenue branches of the Treasury were to be separated by the creation of a division of issue and redemption, and a gold reserve amounting to 25 per cent of the outstanding United States notes and Treasury notes was to be established and maintained. The Secretary of the Treasury was to be authorized to sell 3 per cent gold bonds to restore the reserve whenever it should fall below \$100,000,000; he was to maintain at all times the parity of every dollar issued or coined by the Government, and, if necessary to do this, he might "at his discretion" exchange gold for any other form of money. Small banks with a capital of \$25,000 each were authorized and national bank circulation was expanded to the par value of the Government bonds deposited for security. The tax on circulation was shifted to the capital, surplus, and undivided profits of the banks, and further coinage of silver dollars was prohibited, except from the existing stock of bullion purchased under the act of 1890.

Three months after this informal committee of the new House adjourned the Republican members of the Senate Finance Committee met at Narragansett Pier and drew up a bill simpler than the House bill, but embracing fewer of its popular provisions. The Finance Committee bill "continued" the gold dollar as the standard unit of value, and required the redemption of United States notes and Treasury notes in gold. It established a definite gold reserve of \$150,000,000, and directed the Secretary of the Treasury to sell 3 per cent gold bonds to maintain it. Authority was given to the Secretary to refund the outstanding bonds into 2 per cent gold bonds; bank note circulation based upon them was to be

taxed one-half of 1 per cent only, and the banks, as in the House bill, were authorized to issue notes to the par value of the bonds deposited. The Secretary of the Treasury was directed also to retire Treasury notes as fast as silver dollars were coined from silver in the Treasury. After the bill was reported to the Senate amendments were added to establish small banks and for international bimetallism when it could be secured "by concurrent action of the leading commercial nations of the world."

The Perfected Legislation.—The two measures passed their respective Houses by substantial majorities. The essential features of the bill that came out of conference were those of the Senate bill, although the House conferees secured two modifications of it—first, that it should be the "duty" of the Secretary of the Treasury to maintain parity, and secondly, that United States notes and Treasury notes, when redeemed in gold, should not be used to meet the deficiencies of current revenue. The last amendment was of special value, because it compelled the Secretary of the Treasury to borrow money to cover deficits, and thereby avoided the dangerous inflation of the currency that occurred from 1893 to 1896, from the excess of paper money paid out by the Government and put in circulation in excess of the amount received into the Treasury.

The country had anticipated the action of Congress, but none had been so optimistic as to foresee the tremendous impulse that the single act established the gold standard would give to our foreign and domestic trade. It is true that the Republican triumph of 1896 alone had created a feeling of confidence throughout the country such as had not been experienced since the defeat of the party in 1892. But the Democratic policies from 1893 to 1897 had been so destructive to business, and so potent in creating suspicion and distrust, that even a Republican victory could not wholly restore the favorable conditions that had existed under the Administration of President Harrison. It was reserved to the Dingley tariff law and the gold standard law to work this change, and it came speedily. The ink of the President's signature to the gold standard bill was scarcely dry before its result was seen. Millions of capital that for years had lain idle in bank and in safe deposit vaults came from their hiding places and sought the channels of commerce, now happily freed from the rocks and shoals of financial uncertainty. Prudent men, who had used in their business only enough of their capital to protect the industries already established, began to project new enterprises and to enlarge their plants. Soon the hum of industry was heard in every city and hamlet of the land. Idle men disappeared, everybody who wanted work could get it, and in a little while the demand for labor outran the supply. This was followed by rising wages in many lines

of business, and smiling faces and happy homes were the rule where previously they had been the exception. "The full dinner pail," as President Harrison had aptly expressed it, is a certain result of Republican policies; for prosperity and republicanism are synonymous terms. Does any one doubt it whose memory covers the brief period from 1888 to the present day! This period embraces two Republican and one Democratic Administration, and the contrast is astonishing. Under Republican rule labor has been steadily employed and fittingly paid, while silent factories and idle workmen were eloquent testimonies to the single period of Democratic rule, or misrule, as it has been well described.

Results of the Law.—But the gold standard law has done more than inspire public confidence and give stability to the currency. It has resulted in the establishment of 1,019 additional national banks, with an increase in bank capital from \$616,308,095 to \$675,721,695, or \$59,413,600. More remarkable still has been the expansion of national bank circulation, the amount at the date this article is written being \$313,609,837, or an increase in two years of \$97,235,042. This means additional credit facilities for the banks of nearly \$500,000,000, with the resulting advantage of lower interest rates and greater accommodation to borrowers. The statistics of the Comptroller's Office show that the Middle States have derived the greatest benefit from bank expansion. In these States the total number of new banks with a smaller capital than \$50,000 is 206, and of new banks with a larger capital than \$50,000 is 92, divided as follows: Ohio, 52; Indiana, 36; Illinois, 58; Michigan, 10; Wisconsin, 22; Minnesota, 47; Iowa, 62, and Missouri, 11—in all, 298 new banks, with their aid to credit and industry.

The Southern States derived the second largest benefit from bank expansion. There the number of new banks with a smaller capital than \$50,000 is 170, and of new banks with a larger capital than \$50,000, is 95, as follows: Virginia, 22; West Virginia, 19; North Carolina, 10; South Carolina, 3; Georgia, 14; Florida, 5; Alabama, 14; Mississippi, 4; Louisiana, 9; Texas, 130; Arkansas, 3; Kentucky, 19; Tennessee, 13. Total, 265.

The next is the Western States, where the number of new banks with a capital of less than \$50,000 is 185, and of banks with a capital of more than \$50,000 is 30, as follows: North Dakota, 20; South Dakota, 15; Nebraska, 26; Kansas, 28; Montana, 3; Wyoming, 4; Colorado, 13; New Mexico, 5; Oklahoma, 54; Indian Territory, 47. Total, 215.

In the Eastern States the number of new banks with a smaller capital than \$50,000 is 96, and of new banks with a greater capital than \$50,000 is 93, divided as follows: New York, 36; New Jersey, 19; Pennsylvania, 116; Delaware, 2; Maryland, 16. Total, 189.

On the Pacific Slope the new banks with a smaller capital than \$50,000 is 19, and larger than \$50,000 is 16, as follows: Washington, 7; Oregon, 3; California, 14; Idaho, 5; Utah, 2; Arizona, 2; Hawaii, 2. Total, 35.

In the New England States, where a well-established banking system has existed for more than half a century, the new banks have been relatively few in number as compared with other sections where banking facilities have been more limited.

The total number of new banks in New England with a less capital than \$50,000 is 5, and exceeding \$50,000 is 12, as follows: Maine, 4; New Hampshire, 3; Vermont, 1; Massachusetts, 5; Rhode Island, 1; Connecticut, 3. Total, 17.

One result of the law that should cause every American heart to thrill with pride has been the refunding of a large part of our bonded indebtedness into 2 per cent bonds that are quoted at this writing at 110, or \$10 above par. In all history this has no parallel. The credit of Great Britain has always been high, yet her $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent consols are quoted at only 94%, while the German Imperial 3 per cents are below par, the recent quotations being 90%. This is indeed a record to be proud of, and it is due to skillful management by the Republican party. Yet it should occasion no surprise, for since its foundation the Republican party has stood always for sound money and a sound monetary system. It established the national banking system in 1863; it enacted the legislation to resume specie payments in 1879; it strenuously opposed the free silver heresy in 1896 and for years previously, and it fought the greatest political campaign of modern times for the maintenance of the gold standard.

The Democratic Record.--What has been the record of the Democratic party on the money question--the most important question in the entire range of political economy? It opposed the establishment of national banks; it opposed resumption of specie payments; it opposed the gold standard, and it tried to commit the country to a currency always debased and always fluctuating. In this, as in all matters of great legislation, its record is one of little done, and that little mischievous. Opposition to Republican politics is the measure and standard of its statesmanship. In its futile efforts to manage the affairs of a great country, it reminds one of Hogarth's whimsical picture of the man in the debtor's prison evolving a plan to pay the national debt. Its tendencies are destructive, its policies forbid the exercise of constructive skill, and its occasional victories fall like a blight on the country.

BANK OPERATIONS UNDER DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS.

The accompanying table gives a bird's-eye view of business conditions in the United States from 1890 to 1901, as shown by the bank clearings and the total "banking funds," which term includes in this case the capital, surplus, and deposits of reporting banks and the average of these funds per capita. Attention is called to the reduction in bank clearings and in the per capita of banking funds in 1893, 1894, 1895, and 1896 as compared with the last year under a Republican President and protective tariff, and the phenomenal increase in 1898, 1899, 1900, and 1901 under a return to Republicanism and protection.

Capital, surplus, and deposits of national and other reporting banks on or about June 30, 1890 to 1899, inclusive, the average of these funds per capita, and annual volume of exchanges of the clearing houses of the United States for the same period.

[From Report of the Comptroller of the Currency.]

Year.	Population.*	Banking funds.	Average per capita.	Clearings.
1890.....	62,480,540	\$5,618,747,167	\$89.85	\$58,845,279,505
1891.....	64,156,300	5,840,438,191	91.03	57,298,737,438
1892.....	65,506,000	6,390,094,128	97.42	60,883,572,438
1893.....	67,021,000	6,412,030,954	95.68	58,880,082,455
1894.....	68,473,000	6,407,003,338	93.57	45,028,406,746
1895.....	69,954,000	6,703,544,084	95.83	50,975,155,046
1896.....	71,408,000	6,095,486,521	85.09	51,935,651,733
1897.....	73,016,000	6,822,326,870	93.43	54,179,545,030
1898.....	74,654,000	7,416,355,568	99.34	65,924,820,769
1899.....	76,206,000	8,512,300,108	111.61	88,909,661,776
1900.....	*77,294,900	9,146,017,917	118.42	84,582,450,081
1901.....	*77,647,000	†12,329,580,255	158.78	114,190,226,021

* Includes Hawaii.

† Total resources of banks.

The large corporations, commonly called trusts, though organized in one State, always do business in many States, often doing very little business in the State where they are incorporated. There is utter lack of uniformity in the State laws about them; and as no State has any exclusive interest in or power over their acts, it has in practice proved impossible to get adequate regulation through State action. Therefore, in the interest of the whole people, the nation should, without interfering with the power of the States in the matter itself, also assume power of supervision and regulation over all corporations doing an interstate business.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

NATIONAL BANKS.

Number of national banks in the United States, their capital, surplus, dividends, net earnings, and ratios, yearly, 1870 to 1901.

[From Report of the Comptroller of the Currency.]

Year ending March 1—	Number of banks.	Capital.	Surplus.	Dividends.	Net earnings.	Ratios.		
						Dividends to capital.	Net earnings to capital and surplus.	Dividends to capital and surplus.
						<i>P. ct.</i>	<i>P. ct.</i>	<i>P. ct.</i>
1870	1,726	\$409,008,806	\$84,112,020	\$43,246,926	\$38,218,118	10.5	8.8	11.8
1871	1,662	427,008,134	93,151,510	45,245,493	54,057,017	10.1	8.3	10.1
1872	1,721	445,346,485	98,858,917	44,985,105	54,817,840	10	8.2	10.2
1873	1,882	473,067,453	109,719,615	45,653,440	62,400,369	10.3	8.4	10.7
1874	1,961	488,805,637	120,791,853	48,353,026	62,666,120	9.9	7.9	10.3
1875	1,989	491,753,557	123,962,938	49,680,122	59,172,818	10.1	7.9	9.5
1876	2,061	501,037,162	134,291,621	49,129,596	51,898,138	9.8	7.8	8.1
1877	2,080	493,366,625	131,361,621	44,967,598	49,193,194	8.9	7	6.8
1878	2,073	480,967,905	125,961,407	41,066,506	32,220,724	8.6	6.8	5.8
1879	2,045	467,822,946	117,715,634	35,500,277	25,467,563	7.6	6.1	4.8
1880	2,045	454,606,073	116,187,926	35,524,140	38,425,984	7.8	6.2	6.7
1881	2,079	455,529,965	121,315,718	37,167,717	48,455,271	8.2	6.4	8.4
1882	2,118	449,644,485	129,265,141	39,415,343	56,254,141	8.6	6.7	9.5
1883	2,252	478,519,528	135,570,518	41,181,655	52,670,569	8.6	6.7	8.6
1884	2,420	501,304,720	143,416,518	41,476,382	55,968,078	8.2	6.4	8.6
1885	2,616	520,752,720	148,246,298	40,609,317	45,969,221	7.8	6.1	6.9
1886	2,686	527,777,898	150,218,207	41,553,907	49,511,961	7.9	6.1	7.3
1887	2,819	542,959,709	160,798,539	43,295,729	59,611,513	7.9	6.1	8.5
1888	2,985	567,840,644	175,325,850	45,002,427	65,400,398	7.9	6.1	8.8
1889	3,120	588,391,497	188,462,245	46,734,024	67,869,441	7.9	6	8.7
1890	3,244	607,428,965	200,837,650	49,375,353	69,756,914	8.1	6.1	8.6
1891	3,477	643,680,165	215,649,340	50,677,892	76,952,998	7.9	5.9	8.9
1892	3,641	671,495,123	230,789,745	50,573,088	69,980,790	7.5	5.6	7.8
1893	3,780	682,775,512	241,738,151	51,328,070	68,766,652	7.5	5.5	7.4
1894	3,764	681,129,704	247,732,001	46,800,345	52,422,069	6.8	5	5.6
1895	3,735	664,712,365	245,606,255	46,252,545	45,900,300	6.9	5	5
1896	3,698	655,900,855	248,205,540	45,551,673	48,566,794	6.9	5	5.4
1897	3,659	647,402,875	249,236,838	45,215,818	48,612,927	6.7	4.8	5.4
1898	3,589	625,885,895	245,113,173	45,815,654	45,598,032	6.9	5	5.2
1899	3,568	610,426,625	245,209,205	46,331,009	49,749,374	7.6	5.4	5.8
1900	3,571	604,396,550	251,543,068	47,433,357	69,981,810	7.9	5.6	8.2
1901	3,765	622,366,094	257,918,293	50,219,115	87,674,175	8.1	5.7	10

SAVINGS BANKS.

The savings banks are the best barometers of the conditions of the working men who patronize them in saving their earnings. The following table gives the number of savings banks in the country, the number of depositors, the total deposits and the average for each depositor, and the per capita for the whole population. It will be seen from this table that the deposits in the savings banks fell off more than \$33,000,000 in 1894, as compared with 1893, the first year of the Democratic low-tariff period, and that in 1901 they had increased \$690,000,000 over those of 1896, the last year of the Democratic Administration.

Number of savings banks in the United States, number of depositors, amount of savings deposits, average amount due each depositor in the years 1820, 1825, 1835, 1840, and 1845 to 1901, and average per capita in the United States in the years given.

Compiled in the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency.

Year.	Number of banks.	Number of depositors.	Deposits.	Average due each depositor.	Average per capita in the United States.
1820.....	10	8,635	\$1,138,576	\$131.86	\$0.12
1825.....	15	16,331	2,537,082	149.84	.23
1830.....	36	38,085	6,973,304	188.09	.54
1835.....	52	60,058	10,613,726	176.72	.72
1840.....	61	78,401	14,051,520	178.54	.82
1845.....	70	145,206	24,506,677	168.77	1.23
1846.....	74	158,709	27,374,325	172.48	1.33
1847.....	76	187,739	31,027,497	168.46	1.50
1848.....	83	190,764	33,087,488	165.63	1.52
1849.....	90	217,318	36,073,024	165.99	1.60
1850.....	108	251,354	43,431,130	172.78	1.87
1851.....	128	277,148	50,457,913	182.06	2.10
1852.....	141	308,863	59,467,453	192.54	2.40
1853.....	159	365,538	72,313,686	197.82	2.82
1854.....	190	396,173	77,823,906	196.44	2.94
1855.....	215	431,602	84,290,076	195.29	3.09
1856.....	222	487,386	95,598,230	195.90	3.40
1857.....	231	490,428	98,512,968	200.87	3.41
1858.....	245	538,840	108,438,287	201.24	3.64
1859.....	259	622,556	128,657,901	206.66	4.21
1860.....	278	693,870	149,277,504	215.13	4.75
1861.....	245	694,487	146,729,882	211.27	4.58
1862.....	289	787,943	196,434,540	215.03	5.18
1863.....	293	887,096	206,235,202	232.48	6.18
1864.....	305	976,025	236,280,401	242.08	6.94
1865.....	317	980,844	242,619,382	247.35	6.98
1866.....	336	1,067,061	282,455,794	264.70	7.96
1867.....	371	1,188,202	337,000,452	283.63	9.31
1868.....	406	1,310,144	392,781,813	299.80	10.62
1869.....	476	1,466,684	457,675,050	312.04	12.12
1870.....	517	1,630,846	549,874,358	337.17	14.23
1871.....	577	1,902,047	650,745,442	342.13	16.45
1872.....	647	1,992,325	735,046,805	368.82	18.11
1873.....	669	2,145,832	802,363,609	367.07	19.25
1874.....	693	2,293,401	864,556,902	376.98	20.20
1875.....	771	2,359,464	924,037,304	391.56	21.24
1876.....	781	2,368,630	942,350,255	397.42	20.86
1877.....	675	2,365,314	866,218,306	361.63	18.69
1878.....	663	2,400,785	879,897,306	366.50	18.49
1879.....	639	2,268,707	802,490,425	353.72	16.42
1880.....	629	2,335,582	819,106,973	350.71	16.33
1881.....	629	2,528,749	891,961,142	352.73	17.38
1882.....	629	2,710,354	966,797,081	356.70	18.42
1883.....	630	2,876,438	1,024,856,787	356.29	19.09
1884.....	636	3,015,151	1,073,294,955	355.96	19.55
1885.....	646	3,071,495	1,095,172,247	356.56	19.51
1886.....	638	3,158,950	1,141,530,578	361.36	19.89
1887.....	684	3,418,913	1,235,247,371	361.39	21.05
1888.....	801	3,818,291	1,364,196,550	355.41	22.75
1889.....	849	4,021,523	1,425,230,349	354.40	23.25
1890.....	921	4,258,893	1,524,844,506	358.03	24.35
1891.....	1,011	4,533,217	1,623,079,749	358.04	25.29
1892.....	1,039	4,781,605	1,712,769,026	358.20	26.11
1893.....	1,030	4,830,599	1,785,150,957	360.55	26.63
1894.....	1,024	4,777,987	1,747,961,280	365.86	25.53
1895.....	1,017	4,875,519	1,810,567,023	371.36	25.88
1896.....	988	5,065,494	1,907,156,277	376.50	26.08
1897.....	980	5,201,132	1,939,376,035	372.88	26.56
1898.....	979	5,385,746	2,065,631,298	383.54	27.67
1899.....	987	5,687,818	2,230,906,954	392.13	29.24
1900.....	1,002	6,107,083	2,449,547,885	401.10	31.78
1901.....	1,007	6,358,723	2,597,094,580	408.30	33.45

DEPOSITORS IN SAVINGS BANKS.

The following table shows the number of depositors and the amounts of deposits in savings banks in the principal countries of the world. It will readily be seen how far ahead of all other countries is the United States in this record of savings.

[From Report of the Comptroller of the Currency.]

Country.	Number of depositors.	Deposits.	Average deposit.	Deposit per inhabitant.
Austria.....	3,424,402	\$658,921,560	\$167.88	\$26.35
Belgium.....	1,145,408	113,500,080	99.00	16.50
France.....	8,086,631	829,783,785	92.33	21.84
Hungary.....	905,397	228,151,760	227.19	12.56
Italy.....	4,137,008	331,330,100	80.07	11.01
Netherlands.....	749,024	43,673,460	58.20	10.13
Norway.....	540,053	60,533,905	112.08	30.26
Prussia.....	6,255,507	939,757,555	150.23	29.37
Sweden.....	1,460,858	98,170,720	67.20	19.63
United Kingdom.....	7,900,826	815,686,750	102.35	21.47
Australasia.....	894,879	130,486,880	145.81	31.07
Canada.....	175,560	57,578,975	327.97	10.97
Cape Colony.....	50,161	8,490,920	169.21	5.31
Crown colonies, other.....	114,491	12,275,455	107.22	6.14
United States.....	6,358,723	2,507,004,580	408.30	33.45

GOLD AND SILVER PRODUCTION OF THE WORLD.

The accompanying table shows the gold and silver production of the principal countries of the world in 1896, 1899, and 1900. It will be seen that the United States is still the largest silver producer of the world, with Mexico a close second, while in gold production Africa and Australia exceeded the United States in 1899, but the United States again took the lead in 1900.

Gold production of the world, 1896, 1899, and 1900 (coinage value).

Country.	1896.	1899.	1900.
Africa.....	\$44,581,100	\$73,923,000	\$8,671,900
Australia.....	43,776,200	79,321,600	73,498,900
United States.....	53,088,080	71,033,400	79,171,000
Russia.....	21,535,800	22,167,100	20,145,500
Canada and Newfoundland.....	2,817,000	21,324,300	27,880,500
Mexico.....	6,500,000	8,500,000	9,000,000
India (British).....	6,130,500	8,658,800	9,435,500
China.....	8,038,000	5,574,400	5,574,400
Colombia.....	2,200,100	1,844,600	1,194,900
Gulana (British).....	2,213,100	2,040,500	2,035,900
Austria-Hungary.....	2,162,700	1,943,900	2,141,900
Gulana (French).....	2,107,400	1,688,700	1,580,700
Brazil.....	1,001,100	2,149,500	3,360,300
Venezuela.....	918,500	503,500	503,500
Korea.....	721,800	1,459,000	4,500,000
Total production.....	202,251,300	307,168,800	255,694,500

The world's silver production.

Country.	1896.	1899.	1900.
United States.....	\$76,000,200	\$70,800,000	\$74,533,500
Mexico.....	59,111,400	71,902,500	74,265,000
Australia.....	15,825,800	10,468,800	17,248,000
Bolivia.....	8,241,400	12,904,400	12,104,400
Spain.....	7,472,200	8,171,500	4,118,400
Germany.....	7,616,000	8,070,500	6,996,600
Colombia.....	4,405,000	4,655,100	2,410,200
Canada.....	4,144,300	4,411,000	5,751,800
Chile.....	4,184,000	5,382,100	5,382,100
Peru.....	4,974,000	8,496,700	9,433,000
Austria-Hungary.....	2,409,900	2,450,400	2,571,300
Japan.....	2,675,900	2,811,100	2,811,100
Greece.....	1,829,900	1,625,500	1,725,500
Italy.....	1,182,300	10,039,500	971,400
Total production.....	203,009,200	216,065,700	223,408,200

SILVER MONEY OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF THE WORLD.

The accompanying table, compiled from reports of the Director of the Mint, shows the amount of silver money in the various countries of the world in 1895, the year prior to Mr. Bryan's campaign, in 1899, and in 1901. It will be seen that in nearly all cases there has been a reduction, while in the case of the United States there has been a considerable increase.

Stock of silver money in the principal countries of the world in 1895, 1899, and 1901.

	1895.	1899.	1901.
India.....	\$950,000,000	\$608,400,000	\$409,700,000
China.....	750,000,000	750,000,000	750,000,000
United States.....	* 625,000,000	650,444,972	655,800,000
France.....	† 487,000,000	420,000,000	421,200,000
Germany.....	215,000,000	208,000,000	298,400,000
Spain.....	166,000,000	37,800,000	173,700,000
Austria-Hungary.....	120,000,000	147,800,000	68,100,000
United Kingdom.....	115,000,000	111,900,000	116,800,000
Japan.....	84,300,000	25,300,000	29,100,000
Netherlands.....	56,200,000	56,400,000	52,200,000
Mexico.....	54,000,000	106,000,000	106,000,000
Belgium.....	54,000,000	45,000,000	35,000,000
Russia.....	44,000,000	81,900,000	102,500,000
Italy.....	41,000,000	43,900,000	43,900,000
Turkey.....	40,000,000	40,000,000	40,000,000
South American States.....	30,000,000	29,000,000	20,200,000
Portugal.....	24,000,000	9,600,000	42,600,000
Switzerland.....	15,000,000	10,700,000	10,700,000
Egypt.....	15,000,000	6,400,000	6,400,000
Central American States.....	12,000,000	11,400,000	6,100,000
Roumania.....	10,000,000	7,100,000	900,000
Australia.....	7,000,000	7,000,000	6,100,000
Bulgaria.....	6,000,000	6,800,000	5,000,000
Canada.....	5,000,000	5,000,000	5,000,000
All other.....	135,000,000	* 448,700,000	435,000,000
Total.....	4,767,000,000	3,840,844,972	.....

* Includes Ceylon, Hongkong, and Siam, which were not included in the 1895 statement.

† United States figures include Treasury notes, represented by silver bullion in the Treasury. The figures are for January 1, 1896, and August 1, 1900.

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PRODUCT OF GOLD AND SILVER IN THE UNITED STATES.

[The estimate for 1792 to 1873 is by R. W. Raymond, commissioner, and since by the Director of the Mint.]

Year.	Gold.	Silver, coining value.	Total.
April 2, 1792 to July 31, 1834.....	\$14,000,000	Insignificant.	\$14,000,000
July 31, 1834 to December 31, 1844.....	7,500,000	\$250,000	7,750,000
1845.....	1,005,000	50,000	1,055,000
1846.....	1,140,000	50,000	1,190,000
1847.....	880,000	50,000	930,000
1848.....	10,000,000	50,000	10,050,000
1849.....	40,000,000	50,000	40,050,000
1850.....	50,000,000	50,000	50,050,000
1851.....	55,000,000	50,000	55,050,000
1852.....	60,000,000	50,000	60,050,000
1853.....	65,000,000	50,000	65,050,000
1854.....	60,000,000	50,000	60,050,000
1855.....	55,000,000	50,000	55,050,000
1856.....	55,000,000	50,000	55,050,000
1857.....	55,000,000	50,000	55,050,000
1858.....	50,000,000	500,000	50,500,000
1859.....	50,000,000	100,000	50,100,000
1860.....	46,000,000	150,000	46,150,000
1861.....	43,000,000	2,000,000	45,000,000
1862.....	39,200,000	4,500,000	43,700,000
1863.....	40,700,000	8,500,000	49,200,000
1864.....	46,100,000	11,000,000	57,100,000
1865.....	53,225,000	11,250,000	64,475,000
1866.....	53,500,000	10,000,000	63,500,000
1867.....	51,725,000	13,500,000	65,225,000
1868.....	48,700,000	12,000,000	60,700,000
1869.....	49,300,000	12,000,000	61,300,000
1870.....	50,000,000	16,000,000	66,000,000
1871.....	43,500,000	23,000,000	66,500,000
1872.....	36,000,000	28,750,000	64,750,000
1873.....	36,000,000	35,750,000	71,750,000
1874.....	33,500,000	37,800,000	71,300,000
1875.....	33,400,000	31,700,000	65,100,000
1876.....	39,000,000	38,800,000	77,800,000
1877.....	46,000,000	39,800,000	85,800,000
1878.....	51,200,000	45,200,000	96,400,000
1879.....	38,000,000	40,800,000	78,800,000
1880.....	36,000,000	39,200,000	75,200,000
1881.....	34,700,000	43,000,000	77,700,000
1882.....	32,500,000	46,800,000	79,300,000
1883.....	30,000,000	46,200,000	76,200,000
1884.....	30,800,000	48,800,000	79,600,000
1885.....	31,800,000	51,600,000	83,400,000
1886.....	35,000,000	51,000,000	86,000,000
1887.....	33,000,000	53,250,000	86,250,000
1888.....	33,175,000	50,195,000	83,370,000
1889.....	32,700,000	64,646,000	97,346,000
1890.....	32,845,000	70,465,000	103,310,000
1891.....	33,175,000	75,417,000	108,592,000
1892.....	33,000,000	82,101,000	115,101,000
1893.....	35,055,000	77,576,000	112,631,000
1894.....	39,500,000	64,000,000	103,500,000
1895.....	46,610,000	72,051,000	118,661,000
1896.....	53,088,000	76,000,000	129,088,000
1897.....	57,363,000	69,687,000	127,050,000
1898.....	64,463,000	70,384,000	134,847,000
1899.....	71,053,000	70,807,000	141,860,000
1900.....	79,171,000	74,583,000	153,754,000
1901*.....	80,218,000	77,128,000	157,346,000
Total.....	2,466,304,000	1,807,450,000	4,273,754,000

*Preliminary estimate.

COINAGE OF THE UNITED STATES MINTS.

[From the Report of the Director of the Mint.]

Calendar year.	Total coinage.			
	Gold.	Silver.	Minor.	Total.
1844	\$1,034,177.50	\$2,558,590.00	\$41,208.00	\$6,633,965.50
1847	20,202,325.00	2,374,450.00	61,886.69	22,638,611.69
1848	3,775,512.50	2,040,050.00	64,157.99	5,879,720.49
1849	9,007,761.50	2,114,950.00	41,984.32	11,164,695.82
1850	31,981,788.50	1,866,100.00	44,467.50	33,892,356.00
1851	62,614,402.50	774,307.00	90,635.43	63,488,324.93
1852	56,846,187.50	909,410.00	50,430.94	57,806,228.44
1853	39,377,900.00	9,077,571.00	67,039.78	48,522,530.78
1854	25,915,962.50	8,916,270.00	42,638.35	34,577,870.85
1855	20,387,908.00	8,501,245.00	16,030.79	32,905,243.79
1856	36,857,768.50	5,142,240.00	27,106.78	42,027,115.28
1857	32,214,040.00	5,478,760.00	178,010.46	37,870,810.46
1858	22,988,413.50	8,495,370.00	246,030.00	31,679,783.50
1859	14,780,570.00	3,284,450.00	364,000.00	18,429,020.00
1860	23,473,654.00	2,250,390.00	205,490.00	25,938,704.00
1861	33,305,530.00	3,783,740.00	101,000.00	37,290,270.00
1862	20,875,997.50	1,252,516.50	280,750.00	22,409,264.00
1863	22,445,482.00	809,267.80	498,400.00	23,753,149.80
1864	20,081,415.00	609,917.10	926,687.14	21,618,019.24
1865	28,205,107.50	691,005.00	968,552.86	29,954,665.36
1866	31,435,945.00	982,409.25	1,042,560.60	33,461,314.25
1867	23,828,625.50	908,876.25	1,819,910.00	26,557,411.25
1868	19,371,887.50	1,074,343.00	1,697,150.00	22,142,880.50
1869	17,582,987.50	1,266,143.00	963,000.00	19,812,130.50
1870	24,108,787.50	1,378,255.50	350,225.00	24,927,368.00
1871	21,082,685.00	3,104,088.30	90,890.00	24,236,613.30
1872	21,812,645.00	2,504,488.50	369,380.00	24,686,513.50
1873	57,022,747.50	4,024,747.60	379,455.00	61,426,950.10
1874	35,254,680.00	6,851,776.70	342,475.00	42,448,931.70
1875	32,951,940.00	15,347,893.00	246,970.00	48,546,803.00
1876	46,579,452.50	24,503,307.50	210,800.00	71,293,560.00
1877	43,909,864.00	28,393,045.50	8,525.00	72,401,434.50
1878	49,786,052.00	28,518,850.00	58,186.50	78,363,088.50
1879	39,080,080.00	27,569,776.00	165,003.00	66,814,859.00
1880	62,308,279.00	27,411,693.75	391,395.95	90,111,368.70
1881	96,850,890.00	27,940,163.75	428,151.75	125,219,205.50
1882	65,887,685.00	27,973,132.00	960,400.00	94,821,217.00
1883	20,241,990.00	29,246,968.45	1,604,770.41	60,093,728.86
1884	23,901,756.50	28,534,866.15	796,483.78	53,233,106.43
1885	27,773,012.50	28,962,176.20	191,622.04	56,926,810.74
1886	23,945,542.00	32,086,709.90	343,186.10	61,375,438.00
1887	23,972,383.00	35,191,081.40	1,215,686.26	60,379,150.66
1888	31,380,808.00	33,025,606.45	912,200.78	65,318,615.23
1889	21,413,031.00	35,496,683.15	1,283,408.49	58,194,022.64
1890	21,467,182.50	39,202,908.20	1,384,792.14	61,054,882.84
1891	29,222,005.00	27,518,856.60	1,312,441.00	58,053,302.60
1892	34,787,222.50	12,641,078.00	961,480.42	48,389,780.92
1893	56,397,020.00	8,802,797.30	1,134,931.70	66,334,749.00
1894	79,346,160.00	9,200,350.85	438,177.92	89,184,688.77
1895	59,616,357.50	5,698,010.25	882,430.56	66,196,798.31
1896	47,033,060.00	23,089,899.05	832,718.93	70,955,677.98
1897	76,028,485.00	18,487,297.30	1,526,100.05	96,041,882.35
1898	77,985,757.00	23,634,033.45	1,124,335.14	102,744,125.59
1899	111,344,220.00	26,061,519.90	1,837,451.86	139,243,191.76
1900	99,272,942.50	36,345,321.15	2,031,137.39	137,649,401.04
1901	101,735,187.50	30,838,460.75	2,120,122.08	134,693,770.33

BULLION VALUE OF SILVER.

Bullion value of 371¼ grains of pure silver at the annual average price of silver each year from 1850 to 1901.

[Prepared by the Director of the Mint.]

Year.	Bullion value.	Year.	Bullion value.
1850.....	\$1.018	1876.....	\$0.90089
1851.....	1.014	1877.....	.92958
1852.....	1.025	1878.....	.89222
1853.....	1.042	1879.....	.86928
1854.....	1.042	1880.....	.88544
1855.....	1.089	1881.....	.87575
1856.....	1.089	1882.....	.87883
1857.....	1.046	1883.....	.85754
1858.....	1.089	1884.....	.85904
1859.....	1.052	1885.....	.82579
1860.....	1.045	1886.....	.76931
1861.....	1.081	1887.....	.75755
1862.....	1.041	1888.....	.72683
1863.....	1.040	1889.....	.72125
1864.....	1.040	1890.....	.80927
1865.....	1.085	1891.....	.76416
1866.....	1.086	1892.....	.67401
1867.....	1.027	1893.....	.60851
1868.....	1.025	1894.....	.49097
1869.....	1.024	1895.....	.50687
1870.....	1.027	1896.....	.52257
1871.....	1.025	1897.....	.46745
1872.....	1.022	1898.....	.45640
1873.....	1.00368	1899.....	.46525
1874.....	.98909	1900.....	.47958
1875.....	.96086	1901.....	.46003

There is no use in making a product if you can not find somebody to take it. The maker must find a taker.—President McKinley, in speech to Manufacturers' Club, Philadelphia, June 2, 1897.

Call the roll of nations which are for protection. * * * At least 430 million people are in favor of protection and 38 million Britons are against it; to whom must be added those Americans whose numbers are not known, who, while living under our flag, seem to follow another.—Major McKinley at Toledo, Ohio, February 12, 1891.

So it must be in the future. We gird up our loins as a nation, with the stern purpose to play our part manfully in winning the ultimate triumph, and therefore we turn scornfully aside from the paths of mere ease and idleness, and with unfaltering steps tread the rough road of endeavor, smiting down the wrong and battling for the right as Greatheart smote and battled in Bunyan's immortal story.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

LONDON PRICE OF SILVER.

Annual price of silver in London, per ounce, and commercial ratio of silver to gold, 1833 to 1901.

[From the report of the Director of the Mint on the production of the precious metals in the United States.

Calendar year.	Lowest quotation.	Highest quotation.	Average quotation.	Value of a fine ounce at average quotation.	Commercial ratio.	Calendar year.	Lowest quotation.	Highest quotation.	Average quotation.	Value of a fine ounce at average quotation.	Commercial ratio.
1833.....	d. 58 $\frac{1}{2}$	d. 59 $\frac{1}{2}$	d. 59 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dolls. 1.297	15.98	1868.....	d. 60 $\frac{1}{2}$	d. 61 $\frac{1}{2}$	d. 60 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dolls. 1.323	15.59
1834.....	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	60 $\frac{1}{4}$	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.313	15.73	1869.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.323	15.60
1835.....	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	60 $\frac{1}{4}$	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.308	15.80	1870.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.328	15.57
1836.....	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.315	15.72	1871.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.326	15.57
1837.....	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.305	15.83	1872.....	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.322	15.63
1838.....	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.304	15.85	1873.....	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.29769	15.93
1839.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.323	15.62	1874.....	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.27883	16.16
1840.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.323	15.62	1875.....	55 $\frac{1}{2}$	57 $\frac{1}{2}$	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.24233	16.64
1841.....	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	60 $\frac{1}{4}$	60 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.316	15.70	1876.....	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	56 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.16414	17.75
1842.....	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	60 $\frac{1}{4}$	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.303	15.87	1877.....	53 $\frac{1}{2}$	55 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.20189	17.20
1843.....	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	59 $\frac{1}{4}$	1.297	15.93	1878.....	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	52 $\frac{1}{2}$	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.15958	17.92
1844.....	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.304	15.85	1879.....	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	52 $\frac{1}{2}$	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.12392	18.59
1845.....	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.298	15.92	1880.....	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	52 $\frac{1}{2}$	52 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.14507	18.05
1846.....	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.30	15.90	1881.....	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	52 $\frac{1}{2}$	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.13229	18.25
1847.....	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.308	15.80	1882.....	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	52 $\frac{1}{2}$	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.13562	18.20
1848.....	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.304	15.85	1883.....	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.10874	18.64
1849.....	58 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.309	15.78	1884.....	49 $\frac{1}{2}$	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.11068	18.61
1850.....	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.316	15.70	1885.....	46 $\frac{1}{2}$	50 $\frac{1}{2}$	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.06510	19.41
1851.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.337	15.46	1886.....	42 $\frac{1}{2}$	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	45 $\frac{1}{2}$	.99467	23.78
1852.....	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.326	15.59	1887.....	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	45 $\frac{1}{2}$	.97946	21.10
1853.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.348	15.33	1888.....	41 $\frac{1}{2}$	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	.95974	22.00
1854.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.348	15.33	1889.....	41 $\frac{1}{2}$	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	42 $\frac{1}{2}$	.93511	22.10
1855.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.344	15.38	1890.....	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{1}{2}$	42 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.04634	19.75
1856.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.344	15.38	1891.....	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	47 $\frac{1}{2}$	.98800	20.02
1857.....	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.353	15.27	1892.....	37 $\frac{1}{2}$	43 $\frac{1}{2}$	45 $\frac{1}{2}$	.87145	23.72
1858.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.344	15.38	1893.....	30 $\frac{1}{2}$	38 $\frac{1}{2}$	39 $\frac{1}{2}$	.78090	26.49
1859.....	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.36	15.19	1894.....	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	35 $\frac{1}{2}$	.69479	32.56
1860.....	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.352	15.29	1895.....	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	.65409	31.60
1861.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.333	15.50	1896.....	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	31 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	.67565	30.59
1862.....	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.346	15.35	1897.....	23 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	72 $\frac{1}{2}$	.60483	34.20
1863.....	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.345	15.37	1898.....	25 $\frac{1}{2}$	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	.59010	35.63
1864.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.345	15.37	1899.....	26 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	.60154	34.26
1865.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.338	15.44	1900.....	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	30 $\frac{1}{2}$	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	.62007	
1866.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	62 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.339	15.43	1901.....	24 $\frac{1}{2}$	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	27 $\frac{1}{2}$	.50596	
1867.....	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$	1.328	15.57						

Not only in our own land, but throughout the world, throughout all history, the advance of civilization has been of incalculable benefit to mankind, and those through whom it has advanced deserve the highest honor. All honor to the missionary all honor to the soldier, all honor to the merchant who now in our day have done so much to bring light into the world's dark places. —Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

TOTAL COINAGE IN THE UNITED STATES.

Coinage of the mints of the United States from their organization, 1792, to December 31, 1901.

Denomination.	Pieces.	Value.
GOLD.		
Double eagles.....	80,310,379	\$1,908,207,590.00
Eagles.....	86,500,781	865,997,810.00
Half eagles.....	56,704,011	283,820,055.00
Three-dollar pieces (coinage discontinued under act of September 26, 1890).....	539,792	1,619,376.00
Quarter eagles.....	11,737,670	29,344,175.00
Dollars (coinage discontinued under act of September 26, 1890).....	19,490,337	19,490,337.00
Total gold.....	205,860,970	2,905,588,883.00
SILVER.		
Dollars (coinage discontinued under act Feb. 12, 1873, and resumed under act of Feb. 28, 1878).....	540,986,666	540,986,666.00
Trade dollars.....	85,965,924	85,965,924.00
Dollars (Lafayette souvenir), act of March 3, 1890.....	50,000	50,000.00
Half-dollars.....	302,733,275	151,366,637.50
Half-dollars (Columbian souvenir).....	5,002,105	2,501,052.50
Quarter dollars.....	273,193,963	68,298,490.75
Quarter dollars (Columbian souvenir).....	40,023	10,005.75
Twenty-cent pieces (coinage discontinued, act of May 2, 1878).....	1,355,000	271,000.00
Dimes.....	378,520,782	378,520,782.00
Half dimes (coinage discontinued, act of February 12, 1873).....	97,804,888	4,890,249.40
Three-cent pieces (coinage discontinued, act of February 12, 1873).....	42,736,240	1,282,087.20
Total silver.....	1,478,188,366	845,464,161.30
MINOR.		
Five-cent pieces, nickel.....	402,623,475	20,131,173.75
Three-cent pieces, nickel (coinage discontinued, act of September 26, 1890).....	81,378,316	94,849.48
Two-cent pieces, bronze (coinage discontinued, act of February 12, 1873).....	45,601,000	912,020.00
One-cent pieces, copper (coinage discontinued, act of February 21, 1857).....	156,238,744	1,562,387.44
One-cent pieces, nickel (coinage discontinued, act of April 22, 1864).....	290,772,000	2,907,720.00
One-cent pieces, bronze.....	1,124,123,102	11,241,251.02
Half-cent pieces, copper (coinage discontinued, act of February 21, 1857).....	7,935,222	39,676.11
Total minor.....	1,938,773,859	96,896,327.80
Total coinage.....	3,416,964,335	3,847,885,372.10
SILVER DOLLAR COINAGE UNDER ACT OF—		
April 2, 1792.....		\$8,081,278
February 28, 1878.....		378,166,793
July 14, 1890.....	36,087,285	
March 3, 1891.....	5,078,472	
From repeal of purchasing clause (Nov. 1, 1893) of Sherman Act to June 12, 1895.....	42,139,872	
Amended under war revenue bill, approved June 13, 1898, to Dec. 31, 1901.....	71,483,006	1,477,803.50
Total.....		592,955,428
Total.....		540,986,666

CLEARING-HOUSE RETURNS IN THE UNITED STATES.

Clearing-house returns are perhaps the most accurate barometers of business conditions accessible in other than census years, and the fact that reports of the transactions of the clearing-houses of the United States have been compiled since 1886, and those of New York City, its great business center, since a much earlier date, enables us to present data by which to compare business conditions during the years in question. It will be seen by an examination of the table that the business of the New York clearing-house averaged during the Democratic years, 1885 to 1888, but \$30,000,000,000 a year, against an average of more than \$40,000,000,000 per annum in the preceding four years. The reports of the clearing-houses of the United States for the earlier years are not accessible, and it is not practicable therefore to compare the Democratic period, 1885 to 1888, for the whole country with that of preceding years, though the fact that the years immediately following it showed a large increase in the business of the clearing-houses of the country as a whole suggests that they doubtless shared in the depression which is plainly shown in the column which gives the returns of the New York clearing-houses. For the Democratic and low-tariff period, 1893 to 1896, the reduction in clearings both in New York and the country at large is very strongly marked, the average for the four years, 1893 to 1896, for the entire country being \$51,000,000,000 a year against \$65,924,000,000 in 1898, \$88,909,000,000 in 1899, and \$114,190,000,000 in 1901, or more than double those of 1896. The total for 1899 was practically double that of the calendar year 1894, the year in which the Wilson low-tariff law was put into operation.

We have but little room among our people for the timid, the irresolute, and the idle; and it is no less true that there is scant room in the world at large for the nation with mighty thews that dares not to be great.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

America has only just begun to assume that commanding position in the international business world which we believe will more and more be hers. It is of the utmost importance that this position be not jeopardized, especially at a time when the overflowing abundance of our own natural resources and the skill, business energy, and mechanical aptitude of our people make foreign markets essential. Under such conditions it would be most unwise to cramp or to fetter the youthful strength of our Nation.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

Clearing-house returns of the United States, showing depression in low-tariff and Democratic years.

[From the Statistical Abstract of the United States.]

Year.	New York clearing-houses.	Clearing-houses of the United States.
1880.....	\$37,182,123,621	(*)
1881.....	48,565,818,212	(*)
1882.....	46,552,846,161	(*)
1883.....	40,285,165,258	(*)
1884.....	34,002,687,338	(*)
1885.....	25,250,791,440	(*)
1886.....	33,574,682,216	\$48,211,643,771
1887.....	34,872,848,786	52,126,704,488
1888.....	30,863,686,000	45,750,886,813
1889.....	34,796,465,520	53,501,411,510
1890.....	37,600,686,572	58,845,279,505
1891.....	34,053,698,770	57,298,737,338
1892.....	36,270,905,236	60,883,572,438
1893†.....	34,421,380,870	58,880,682,465
1894†.....	24,230,145,368	45,028,496,716
1895†.....	28,264,379,126	50,975,155,016
1896†.....	29,550,894,884	51,935,651,733
1897.....	31,337,700,948	54,179,545,030
1898.....	39,853,413,948	65,924,820,709
1899.....	57,368,230,771	88,909,661,776
1900.....	51,964,588,564	84,582,450,081
1901.....	77,020,672,394	114,190,226,021

* No data.

† Democratic low-tariff years.

The first essential of civilization is law. Anarchy is simply the hand-maiden and forerunner of tyranny and despotism. Law and order enforced by justice and by strength lie at the foundation of civilization. Law must be based upon justice, else it cannot stand, and it must be enforced with resolute firmness, because weakness in enforcing it means in the end that there is no justice and no law, nothing but the rule of disorderly and unscrupulous strength.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

The most vital problem with which this country, and for that matter the whole civilized world, has to deal, is the problem which has for one side the betterment of social conditions, moral and physical, in large cities, and for another side the effort to deal with that tangle of far-reaching questions which we group together when we speak of "labor." The chief factor in the success of each man—wage-worker, farmer, and capitalist alike—must ever be the sum total of his own individual qualities and abilities. Second only to this comes the power of acting in combination or association with others.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

MONEY IN CIRCULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1860 TO 1900.

[From official reports of the Comptroller of the Currency.]

July 1—	Gold and gold certificates.	Silver and silver certificates.	Other.	Total circulation.	Circulation per capita.
1860.....	\$228,304,775		\$207,102,477	\$435,407,252	\$13.85
1861.....	246,400,000		202,005,767	448,405,767	13.98
1862.....	\$20,000,000	\$5,000,000	300,697,744	325,697,744	10.23
1863.....	20,000,000	20,284,382	554,509,656	594,794,038	17.84
1864.....	20,000,000	24,182,401	625,508,977	669,691,378	19.67
1865.....	20,000,000	26,728,755	667,974,240	714,702,995	20.57
1866.....	20,000,000	20,687,068	623,801,181	674,488,249	18.99
1867.....	20,000,000	31,306,204	610,685,775	661,992,000	18.28
1868.....	20,000,000	33,999,352	626,104,309	680,103,661	18.39
1869.....	20,000,000	35,442,289	600,010,652	665,452,941	17.60
1870.....	20,000,000	39,370,262	615,883,512	675,253,774	17.50
1871.....	20,000,000	39,446,805	656,442,700	715,889,505	18.10
1872.....	20,000,000	41,402,920	676,906,620	738,309,540	19.19
1873.....	20,000,000	43,076,005	688,805,804	751,881,809	18.04
1874.....	20,000,000	43,238,582	712,849,449	776,088,031	18.13
1875.....	20,000,000	42,904,570	691,197,377	754,101,947	17.16
1876.....	20,000,000	58,996,973	648,615,415	727,603,388	16.12
1877.....	20,000,000	63,126,514	630,188,369	713,314,883	15.58
1878.....	20,000,000	76,502,378	632,630,256	729,132,634	15.32
1879.....	125,785,182	60,707,508	623,049,108	819,541,798	16.75
1880.....	233,659,679	74,411,014	665,310,635	973,382,228	19.41
1881.....	321,072,397	115,292,305	677,873,217	1,114,238,119	21.71
1882.....	363,280,345	133,269,659	677,720,215	1,174,270,219	22.37
1883.....	404,460,865	154,746,435	671,098,396	1,230,305,696	22.91
1884.....	411,770,843	182,778,019	649,377,107	1,243,925,969	22.65
1885.....	468,308,141	184,320,836	639,849,638	1,292,478,615	23.02
1886.....	434,264,950	186,958,888	631,477,787	1,252,701,625	21.82
1887.....	467,766,118	246,250,608	603,522,422	1,317,539,148	22.45
1888.....	512,208,688	306,640,387	553,312,820	1,372,161,900	22.88
1889.....	493,611,797	363,090,028	523,650,824	1,380,352,649	22.52
1890.....	505,089,782	407,367,574	516,203,914	1,428,661,270	22.82
1891.....	527,382,232	464,680,089	505,428,406	1,497,490,727	23.41
1892.....	549,662,443	545,063,323	506,621,421	1,601,347,187	24.44
1893*.....	501,177,852	590,079,001	505,444,392	1,596,701,245	23.25
1894*.....	562,316,579	572,747,784	525,744,345	1,660,808,708	24.23
1895*.....	528,019,270	547,902,187	526,947,036	1,602,868,493	23.93
1896*.....	497,103,131	533,023,793	471,307,990	1,501,434,914	21.70
1897*.....	554,845,027	552,475,519	532,458,973	1,639,779,519	22.49
1898.....	603,762,032	610,072,833	533,125,010	1,746,960,875	24.06
1899.....	712,391,969	623,245,681	506,432,281	1,842,070,931	25.00
1900, July 1.....	815,474,460	620,470,620	620,480,666	2,056,425,746	26.78

* Democratic low-tariff years.

BANK SETTLEMENTS LAST YEAR.

[From Dun's Review, January 4, 1902.]

Bank exchanges last year for all cities reporting in the United States were \$118,533,294,485. In no other year were these figures ever approached. Exchanges were enormously swollen by the gigantic stock dealings at New York in the early months of the year. Every city reports an increase, though the cities outside of New York probably reflect the normal gain. Below is given total

exchanges at all cities in the United States reporting; also at New York and cities outside of New York for the years mentioned:

Year.	Total.	New York.	Omitting New York.
1901.....	\$118,533,294.485	\$79,427,685.842	\$39,105,608.643
1900.....	86,141,808.853	52,634,201.857	33,507,607.996
1899.....	94,171,904.183	60,761,791.901	33,410,112.282
1898.....	68,361,197.724	41,971,782.437	26,389,415.287
1897.....	57,403,118.681	33,427,027.471	23,976,091.210
1896.....	51,333,461.439	28,870,775.053	22,462,686.386
1895.....	53,448,481.562	29,841,796.924	23,606,684.638
1894.....	45,615,280.187	24,387,807.020	21,227,473.167
1893.....	54,309,502.775	31,261,407.730	23,048,095.045
1892.....	62,109,062.974	36,602,439.231	25,496,623.743
1891.....	56,946,841.805	33,749,522.212	23,197,319.593

There has been something more than a normal increase in payments through the banks, and it is quite as marked as in the year 1899 over 1898. Omitting the New York figures, which are so enormously swollen by stock speculations, the record for the year is very striking. Payments in settlement of trade balances were larger than ever before. The year 1892 was an extremely busy one, and the record year for bank exchanges up to that time, but it was far outclassed by last year. A number of smaller cities are now included that did not report in 1892, but making allowances for this there has been an enormous gain. That the course of bank exchanges last year may be followed, the usual comparison of average daily bank exchanges each month for the thirteen leading cities of the United States is given below:

Mo th.	1901.	1900.	Per cent.	1899.	Per cent.
January.....	\$386,680,000	\$270,521,000	+ 42.9	\$118,818,000	+ 21.3
February.....	335,043,000	267,350,000	+ 32.4	208,124,000	+ 19.1
March.....	361,948,000	261,685,000	+ 38.3	305,556,000	+ 17.1
April.....	438,725,000	277,748,000	+ 58.0	313,381,000	+ 40.0
May.....	469,133,000	280,452,000	+ 60.4	301,341,000	+ 55.7
June.....	380,265,000	296,000,000	+ 61.1	269,754,000	+ 41.0
July.....	335,536,000	228,432,000	+ 47.0	264,800,000	+ 27.0
August.....	273,439,000	192,522,000	+ 42.0	238,426,000	+ 14.7
September.....	320,885,000	212,567,000	+ 50.1	277,401,000	+ 15.7
October.....	324,916,000	237,954,000	+ 26.0	297,627,000	+ 9.2
November.....	379,736,000	338,741,000	+ 12.1	305,018,000	+ 24.5
December.....	372,738,000	337,041,000	+ 13.4	311,762,000	+ 19.6

The year 1899, the best year up to that time, was a very busy and prosperous one. Exchanges were heavy, not so large in mid-summer as in the other months of the year, as is usual, but far above every other year up to that time. In 1900 there were some reverses, and in the early months of the year exchanges were less than in the preceding year; as the time for the Presidential elec-

tion in November approached exchanges dwindled perceptibly. Immediately after the November election increased activity and deferred settlements swelled exchanges to the highest point ever reached, and the amount continued heavy throughout the year. In April, May, and June it was unusually large because of the heavy stock sales. Compared with 1899 the closing months of last year are quite as good as the opening.

Bank exchanges this week at all leading cities in the United States are \$1,955,111,085, a loss of 6 per cent compared with last year, but a gain of 18.4 per cent over 1900. Exchanges continue satisfactory in volume; they include the heavy settlements of the first day of the new year, whereas last year there are two days and in 1900 three days, all heavy days. In part the losses compared with last year are due to this fact. Figures for the week are compared below for three years:

City.	Five days, Jan. 2, 1902.	Five days, Jan. 3, 1901.	Per cent.	Five days, Jan. 4, 1900.	Per cent.
Boston	\$136,693,883	\$158,483,540	— 13.7	\$139,815,904	— 2.2
Philadelphia	92,679,020	100,664,877	— 7.9	96,007,361	— 3.4
Baltimore	10,016,972	21,719,163	— 12.4	23,084,640	— 17.6
Pittsburg	37,593,918	35,533,413	+ 5.8	25,945,331	+ 44.9
Cincinnati	16,232,400	16,338,850	— 4.2	16,948,650	— 4.2
Cleveland	12,890,497	12,277,626	+ 5.0	10,476,184	+ 23.0
Chicago	149,532,515	138,138,056	+ 8.2	133,023,585	+ 12.4
Minneapolis	14,381,240	11,015,204	+ 30.6	9,500,756	+ 51.4
St. Louis	43,222,443	46,262,658	— 6.6	35,272,124	+ 22.5
Kansas City	15,609,162	15,842,578	— 1.5	11,975,622	+ 30.3
Louisville	8,010,344	8,260,909	— 3.0	8,504,570	— 6.8
New Orleans	14,340,441	11,199,513	+ 23.0	10,582,426	+ 35.4
San Francisco	23,895,100	21,727,800	+ 10.0	20,748,600	+ 15.5
Total	584,008,544	598,063,277	— 2.3	541,975,852	+ 7.8
New York	1,371,012,541	1,588,950,972	— 13.7	1,117,476,272	+ 22.7
Total all	1,955,111,085	2,187,022,349	— 6.0	1,659,452,124	+ 18.4

Nor can legislation stop only with what are termed labor questions. The vast individual and corporate fortunes, the vast combinations of capital, which have marked the development of our industrial system, create new conditions and necessitate a change from the old attitude of the State and nation toward property.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

Corporations engaged in interstate commerce should be regulated if they are found to exercise a license working to the public injury. It should be as much the aim of those who seek for social betterment to rid the business world of crimes of cunning as to rid the entire body politic of crimes of violence.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

OUR DIPLOMACY IN THE ORIENT.

McKINLEY'S POLICY SAVED CHINA FROM DISMEMBERMENT.

The interest of the United States in the peace and permanence of the Chinese Empire, while liable to escape the attention of those not conversant with the details of the commercial and political movements of the European powers in the Far East, is worthy of the serious consideration of every thoughtful American citizen. When we reflect upon the probable consequence to our domestic industries of a sudden arrest and cessation of our export trade, which now shows a favorable balance of more than \$600,000,000 per annum, we realize that our national prosperity is, to a considerable degree, bound up in the retention and expansion of our foreign markets. If we make a mental survey of the globe with the purpose of ascertaining in what directions it is possible to extend our foreign trade, we shall see that the great Chinese Empire, with its population of nearly 400,000,000 souls, presents the largest possibility of commercial development of any portion of the earth's surface. The African continent has within the last fifty years been gradually drawn into the circle of European control by the establishment of colonies and the creation of "spheres of influence" until at present there is no portion of that vast region which is not under the more or less recognized predominance of European nations. In effect, the partition of Africa among these powers is already complete, and its future trade is subject to such restrictions or preferential treatment as these powers may choose and be able to impose.

Encroachment of a kind similar to that which has resulted in the partition of Africa has for some time seemed inevitable for the ancient and feeble Chinese Empire. Its dismemberment in the interest of several great powers was forecast as almost certain, when Secretary Hay opened a general diplomatic correspondence on the subject with the principal foreign offices of the interested countries and succeeded in obtaining from each of them a disavowal of intention on the part of that particular government to attempt the dismemberment of China.

The Boxer Rebellion.—The result of this correspondence was to render it morally impossible for any one of the interested powers to take the first step toward the dismemberment of China without self-stultification before the civilized world. Soon afterward the Boxer rebellion, which disclosed to an alarming extent the internal

weakness and almost total impotence of the Chinese Government, as well as a state of anarchy at Peking and the nearer provinces, furnished a new occasion for international intervention and created a situation fraught with the gravest dangers to the integrity of the Empire. Marines and troops were landed for the defense, and finally the rescue of the legations at Peking, which were exposed to a cruel assault that lasted through many weeks of terror for the inmates and of anxiety for the entire civilized world. The German minister, Baron von Ketteler, was killed, it is believed by a Chinese soldier at the commencement of the outbreak, thus, exposing China to the danger of accountability to a great power for a violation of international law unprecedented in modern times. It seemed as if, with Russia ready to press for advantages in the north, France disposed to extend her influence in the south, Germany with a serious grievance to redress and an already established center of influence in the Shantung peninsula, and other powers certain to claim compensation for the wrong done to the legations, while the feeble Chinese Government resorted to flight from its capital, that the occasion had arrived for the cupidities of the powers to assert themselves to an extent which might involve the destruction of the Empire.

In this critical situation the administration of President McKinley found itself put to an extreme test. On the one hand, the protection of American life and property was necessary; on the other, the sending of troops for this purpose seemed to involve a war with China in concert with powers more or less hostile to the integrity of her territory and not unlikely to demand its partition as retribution for the outrages committed and in compensation for the enormous expenses of the campaign. Two positions were promptly taken by our Government, the wisdom and justice of which are now unquestioned. In his circular note of July 3 Secretary Hay boldly defined the attitude of the United States as favorable to the maintenance of the territorial integrity of China. Refusing to assume that the attack on the legations was an act of war against the powers by the Imperial Government, he continued his recognition of Mr. Wu, the sagacious minister of China at Washington, and through him his relations with the absentee Emperor, pointing out to the world that China was in a state of domestic insurrection rather than a state of war with foreign powers; for it was evident that the only hope of maintaining the unity of the Empire and the integrity of its territory was in the rehabilitation of the Imperial authority. The results of this attitude were: (1) the successful transmission of the cipher telegram to Minister Conger, through the good offices of Minister Wu, which was the means of informing the world that the rescue of the legations

was still possible when all hope had been abandoned; (2) the cooperation of the powers in the suppression of the insurrection without declaring war on the Empire, and (3) the ultimate recall of the Imperial Court to Peking, its reestablishment in authority, the settlement of the difficulty by a money indemnity instead of a territorial occupation, which would probably have been indefinitely continued, and the final evacuation of Peking by the forces of the intervening powers. It is true that these results could not have followed without the cooperation of the powers, but it is not difficult to perceive that it was the leadership of the United States, first in creating a moral situation which had evoked a general disavowal of cupidity on the part of the powers, and then in the exercise of a moderating influence by urging upon all a program of justice and magnanimity, that China escaped permanent military occupation and ultimate territorial dismemberment.

Success of American Diplomacy.—The difficulty of this task did not consist alone in directing and harmonizing the purposes of the powers, it was necessary to exert a tonic influence upon the Imperial government of China also, in order to effect the rehabilitation of its authority. In the communication of the Emperor of July 19, 1900, he expressed his "special reliance upon the United States," and asked that this Government "take the initiative in bringing about a concert of the powers for the restoration of order and peace." In his reply to this appeal, dated July 23, 1900, President McKinley said: "The purpose for which we landed troops in China was the rescue of our legation from grave danger and the protection of the lives and property of Americans who were sojourning in China in the enjoyment of rights guaranteed by treaty and by international law. The same purposes are declared by all the powers which have landed military forces in Your Majesty's Empire." Thus, fixing once more the former declaration of the powers as the standard of their obligations, the President proceeded to mark out for the Emperor the only path that could save his Empire and to demand his acceptance of it, namely, prompt assurance as to the condition of the legations, immediate communication with their respective governments, cooperation of the Imperial authorities with the relief expedition, and the liberation of the besieged ministers. Upon these conditions only the aid of this Government in the settlement of the troubles was promised, and thus the Chinese authorities were brought to a sense of their responsibilities and made to see that their only hope of rehabilitation was in frankly accepting them.

It was by such wise and farsighted diplomacy that the Chinese Empire was rescued from its imminent peril of annihilation. Having brought that government face to face with its stern necessities,

it was still necessary to strengthen it for the performance of its international duties. When Earl Li was designated to negotiate for China with the powers, President McKinley demanded that his credentials be full and authoritative, "not only for negotiation, but to enable him without further delay to give assurance that the life and property of Americans will henceforth be respected throughout the Chinese Empire." Upon this assurance the journey of Earl Li to Peking was facilitated and, on September 21, 1900, the minister of the United States was authorized to enter into relations with him and Prince Ching as the immediate representatives of the Chinese Emperor. The example of the United States was followed by the other powers, and the ways of peace were thus prepared.

Prevented Punitive Measures.—What was most needed for the rehabilitation of the Chinese authority for the fulfillment of its new pledges was such freedom of action as would enable it to vindicate itself before its own people and before the world. The occasion for this was furnished by the following proposal of the government of His Majesty the German Emperor, under date of September 18, 1900:

"The government of His Majesty the Emperor considers as a preliminary condition for entering into diplomatic negotiations with the Chinese Government a surrender of such persons as are determined upon as being the first and real perpetrators of the crimes committed in Peking against international law. The number of perpetrators who served as tools is too great; a wholesale execution would be averse to the civilized conscience. Furthermore, circumstances would not allow that even the group of leaders could be completely ascertained; but the few among them whose guilt is notorious should be surrendered and punished. The representatives of the powers in Peking will be in a position to make or adduce in this investigation fully valid testimony. The number of those punished is of less importance than their character as principal instigators and leaders. The government of His Majesty the Emperor believes that it can depend in this matter upon the concurrence of all the cabinets; for, indifference towards the idea of a just expiation would be equivalent to indifference toward a repetition of the crime. The government of His Majesty the Emperor therefore proposes to the interested cabinets that they request their representatives in Peking to designate the principal Chinese personages whose guilt in the instigation or execution of the crime is beyond doubt. A similar communication is forwarded to the other interested cabinets."

On September 21, 1900, the following reply was made:

"The Government of the United States has from the outset pro-

claimed its purpose to hold to the uttermost accountability the responsible authors of any wrongs done in China to citizens of the United States and their interests, as was stated in the Government's circular communicated to the powers, of July 3 last. These wrongs have been committed not alone in Peking, but in many parts of the Empire, and their punishment is believed to be an essential element of an effective settlement which shall prevent a recurrence of such outrages and bring about permanent safety and peace in China. It is thought, however, that no punitive measures can be so effective by way of reparation for wrongs suffered and as deterrent examples for the future as the degradation and punishment of the responsible authors by the supreme Imperial authority itself; and it seems only just to China that she should be afforded in the first instance an opportunity to do this and thus rehabilitate herself before the world. Believing thus, and without abating in any wise its deliberate purpose to exact the fullest accountability from the responsible authors of the wrongs we have suffered in China, the Government of the United States is not disposed, as a preliminary condition to entering into diplomatic negotiations with the Chinese Government, to join in a demand that said government surrender to the powers such persons as, according to the determination of the powers themselves, may be held to be the first and real perpetrators of those wrongs. On the other hand, this Government is disposed to hold that the punishment of the high responsible authors of these wrongs, not only in Peking, but throughout China, is essentially a condition to be embraced and provided for in the negotiations for a final settlement. It is the purpose of this Government, at the earliest practicable moment, to name its plenipotentiaries for negotiating a settlement with China, and in the meantime to authorize its minister in Peking to enter forthwith into conference with the duly authorized representatives of the Chinese Government with a view to bringing about a preliminary agreement whereby the full exercise of the Imperial power for the preservation of order and the protection of foreign life and property throughout China, pending final negotiations with the powers, shall be assured." ¹

McKinley's Views Prevailed.—The views of the Government of the United States finally prevailed, and China was thus enabled to be herself the instrument of those punitive measures necessary to the satisfaction of the powers and the reestablishment of her

¹ This and other important correspondence on this subject can be found in the Report of the Special Commissioner to China, with accompanying documents, published as Senate Document No. 67, first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress, pages 23, 27, *et seq.*

dignity and authority as the vindicator of order in her own dominions. It was the first, but decisive, step towards the assertion of the principle that the Chinese Government was still a responsible sovereign power, and not the mere agent of foreign intervention.

It is unnecessary for the purposes of this article to follow the negotiations which led to the final adjustment of the Chinese insurrection of 1900, the details of which are presented in the Report of the Special Commissioner previously referred to in a note. It is sufficient to call attention to the successful endeavors of the Government of the United States to secure a degree of punishment necessary to produce an exemplary effect, to fix a money indemnity to the powers not beyond the possibility of payment—although great in amount and likely to tax the resources of the Empire for the next forty years—and to effect the evacuation of Peking and the return of the Imperial Court to its seat of government. Heavy as the future burdens of the Chinese Empire unquestionably are, we can not fail to recognize in the present situation a result of great importance to the commerce of the world—the continued unity of the Empire, to which the diplomacy of the United States has contributed in no small degree, and for whose preservation it is of national importance that our diplomacy should continue to strive. What might have been the result had the foreign policy of our Government been more timid and less skillful, it is not difficult to imagine. Without abandoning our established traditions in the smallest particular, we have, in concert with other powers, aided in the rescue of our legation, obtained indemnity for the injuries done to our citizens, and strengthened our influence with the Chinese Government and people, at the same time securing harmony of action among the powers, and thus averting the calamity of territorial dismemberment. Taken as a whole, our policy in China during the past four years must be regarded as one of the most brilliant chapters in diplomatic history, contributing greatly to our own national interests and to the peace, harmony, and highest good of all mankind.

Material Results.—If, now, we turn to ask what material results have been achieved by a policy which has not been wholly inspired by material interests, it must be recognized that it is still too early to estimate all the advantages accruing from the restoration of peace with unity in China. Still, even at the present moment, it is possible to perceive that the maintenance of our treaty rights in the Chinese Empire has already been productive of great benefit to our national interests. First of all, it has established the idea throughout the world that the United States is henceforth to be an *active participant in the commercial advantages of the Pacific*

islands and continental countries. Henceforth it will be evident to all that the interests of the United States in the commerce of these great areas are not to be neglected, and are not to be treated as nonexistent in the formation and execution of the plans of colonial expansion of the European powers. The Pacific Ocean, by virtue of the extensive coast line and insular possessions of the United States, must henceforth be regarded as an international waterway in which the United States has as great an interest and as ample rights and prerogatives of trade as any other nation.

The magnitude of the oriental trade fully justifies the great interest which our Government has shown in our further participation in its advantages. The following statement of facts fully justifies the interest our Government has taken in the extension of our oriental trade:

The total trade of China, Japan, Korea, Siberia, the Indies, Siam, the Straits Settlement, and Ceylon, in the latest years for which figures are available, amounted to \$2,006,713,800,¹ of which the share of the United States was only \$167,088,500 or 0.83 per cent. In these totals, the general imports of all the countries represented \$1,012,980,000, and imports from the United States \$61,685,300, or 0.6 per cent. Of the exports the United States took a larger proportion—\$105,403,200 out of a total of \$993,733,800, or over 10 per cent. In the last ten years, our exports to these countries have increased about 115 per cent., but the gain was chiefly to Japan, China, and (in the last few years) to Siberia.

Imports from the United States into Japan increased, in the five years from 1896 to 1900, from \$8,000,000 to \$31,000,000, or 287 per cent while the British advance in the same period was only 20.3 per cent. Our exports to Siberia, which amounted to only \$120,200 in 1892, and to \$413,900 in 1897, leaped to over \$3,000,000 in 1900, although that was an exceptional year, owing to the troubles in China. In 1901 they were about \$1,500,000:

Our Commerce with China.—The foreign commerce of China in 1899 (or before the Boxer disturbances) amounted to \$327,000,000, or twice the value of the trade in 1890. Our share of this traffic, according to the returns of the Imperial Maritime Customs, was some \$32,000,000, or more than that of any European country except Great Britain, whose trade (excepting the colonies) was valued at \$39,000,000. In the four years from 1896 to 1899, we doubled our sales to China, while the British exports fell off some \$3,000,000. The official returns, moreover, do not give the actual value of our commerce, as many of our goods are shipped via Hongkong, and are credited as imports from that colony; the same

¹ See Report of the World's Commerce, 1901, p. 80.

is true of the vast quantities of merchandise which are shipped to China via London and other European ports. Consul Fowler, of Chefoo, thinks that our trade with China is underestimated by at least one-third, and Consul-General Goodnow, of Shanghai, says that the returns of our imports last year were at least \$6,000,000 too little. If correct figures could be had, Mr. Goodnow thinks it would be found that we buy more goods from China than does any other nation, and our total trade with China would equal the British (not including colonial), and would be far ahead of that of any other country. Even according to the official statements, our sales to China in 1899 exceeded those of all continental Europe, including Russia, by over \$3,000,000, and our trade was then increasing faster than that of any other country. The Boxer outbreak almost annihilated our trade in North China, but in 1901 it revived notably. Imports from the United States last year were estimated at \$25,500,000, and our total commerce with China at \$42,000,000.

Cotton goods represent the largest item in our export trade to China, and we sell the Empire more cotton cloth than we sell to all Europe, to all of South America, or to all the other countries of Asia and Australasia and Polynesia combined. Eighty-six per cent of the total imports of our cotton goods in 1901 went through the northern ports of Niuchwang, Tientsin and Chefoo, and probably three-fourths of this total import, it is estimated passed into Manchuria. Our flour also is a growing import. Our condensed milk and canned fruits have become so popular that cheap imitations have been placed on the market. Among the other articles which are gaining a foothold, the consuls mention lamps, tobacco, timber, nails, sewing machines, jewelry, electrical goods, and light agricultural implements. Consul McWade, of Canton, says that American goods have an established reputation in China, and are preferred to all other foreign articles. Besides these promising openings for our trade, the reports of the consular officers indicate that American capital is being invested in various enterprises in China—railways, mills, steamship lines, mines, land investment companies, etc. The favor with which America and American products are regarded in the Empire would seem to indicate that the United States has an excellent opportunity of extending its commerce in this field, unless artificial obstacles are opposed to its development.

Stand up for America, and America will stand up for you.—
Major McKinley to Republican Press Association of West Vir-
ginia, September 1, 1896.

REDUCTION OF THE ARMY.

IT IS NOW AT ITS MINIMUM STRENGTH.

It is unfortunate for the Democratic party that it has never had command of the United States Army in time of war, and by the exigencies of political strife, has been nearly always arrayed against the Army and with the enemies of the Government. It was so in the Civil War, and the Democratic party of the North became known as "the fire-in-the-rear party" and the Democrats popularly known as Copperheads. There were many Democrats who then resented this designation, and to escape it associated themselves with the Republicans in defense of the Government as "War Democrats."

The war for the freedom of Cuba gave promise of a changed condition, and all parties supported the President in organizing and equipping the Army for the war with Spain. That has revealed to the world the immense resources of the United States and the ability of the nation to raise armies and equip them for battle.

It taught the world to respect the power of this Government more than any event in our history. It taught Europe and our own people to respect the American Navy as the most perfect fighting machine on the seas.

It made the United States respected and feared in every country, and it brought us the friendship of all nations, for nations, like individuals, respect heroism and the power to conquer.

It taught the Old World that this country, without a standing army and without the shadow of militarism over it, could raise and equip the greatest and best fighting armies on short notice, and that independence produces men who are ready for war even in the most busy times of peaceful occupation.

It taught our own people that the soldier comes from no class or section, and that the man of leisure and money could shoulder his musket and fight beside the cowboy and the farmer and the artisan, enduring the same hardships and privations for the defense of the flag.

It also taught our people that those who wore the blue and those the gray could fight together with the same heroic effort shown on the battlefields of the civil war, when they fought against each other in the greatest and bloodiest struggle in our history.

A illustration of the patriotism and homogeneity of the

American people when General Fitzhugh Lee, General Wheeler, and General Butler, of Confederate fame, commanded corps or divisions under the Commander-in-Chief, William McKinley, who had been a private soldier in the Union Army, and it found final illustrations in the Philippines, where the son of the great volunteer general, John A. Logan, gave his life at the head of a Texas regiment—a demonstration that all sectional lines have been wiped out and the country reunited in defense of the flag under the leadership of President McKinley and President Roosevelt.

At the end of that short and glorious war this country stood first in military achievements and without a standing army. Its militarism is patriotism, and it has its illustration in the achievements of American patriots from Bunker Hill to Yorktown; from Fort Sumter to Appomattox; from Santiago to Manila Bay, and from Manila to Tientsin. These are all the achievements of a citizen soldiery, the only militarism ever known under the United States flag. There never has been a standing army that equaled one soldier to one thousand inhabitants, and there never has been an army fighting under the American flag for a selfish purpose. Our appeals to arms have been in the cause of great moral and humane principles. It is well to go to the record rather than to the catch phrase, invented to create sectional and partisan hatred in such matters.

Increase in the Army.—Democrats in Congress were eager for war in 1898, and they aided in legislation to provide for an army. When the war began we had an Army of but 27,000 men. Congress provided for an increase of the Regular Army to 65,000 men, and gave authority to call a large number of volunteers. In May, 1898, the whole number of men numbered 163,592; in June, 208,239; in July, 265,529; in August, 272,618; in September, 268,181; in October, 225,375; in November, 179,186, and in December, 168,937. It was provided in the law that when peace was declared with Spain the Regular Army should fall back to 27,000 men and all the volunteers should be discharged. Peace having been established by the exchange of ratifications on April 11, 1899, the Army by force of law was reduced again to 27,000 men, which was confessedly too small to deal with the situation then existing in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines.

The House then passed a bill increasing the Regular Army to 100,000 men. The Senate did not agree to this bill, but to overcome the objections of Democrats another bill was reported providing that the Regular Army might be recruited temporarily to 65,000 men, and that, in addition 35,000 volunteers were authorized, all of this Army of 100,000 men to be enlisted to serve until June 1, 1901, or for two years and four months. This bill was passed, the

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... and Populists in the Senate voting for it. It went to ... was concurred in, only 32 negative votes being cast

... this action all parties in Congress authorized the President to suppress the insurrection led by Aguinaldo in the Philippines. The President followed the law of Congress, organized the Army, and sent more troops to the Philippines.

January, 1899, there were only 21,790 officers and men in the Army in the Philippines. By December of that year this Army had increased to 59,722 officers and men, and the increase continued. In December, 1900, there were 69,420 officers and men in the Philippines. This Army was, however, enlisted for two years, and must be discharged by July 1, 1901. A new Army must be organized to take its place within six months from the time the next Congress met. The House passed a new bill for the reorganization of the Army December 6, 1900. The Democrats voted against that bill, and the vote was 171 yeas to 131 nays. The Senate held the bill until February. All the Democrats in the Senate, excepting Morgan of Alabama, McLaurin of South Carolina, and Sherman of Mississippi, voted against the passage of the bill. The vote in the Senate was 43 yeas to 23 nays. It became a law February 2, and left the President only four months to organize a new Army to take the place of that in the field.

The Democrats had aided in preparing for war and in authorizing the President to suppress the insurrection in the Philippines, but they were not willing to aid in continuing the Army until the work was done and peace restored.

The new law provided that the maximum strength of the Army should be 100,000 men and the minimum strength 59,540 men. The President never exercised his authority to raise an Army of the maximum strength. The Army continued to decrease, and by the time the reorganization was effected, July 1, 1901, there were only 93,451 men in the Army. In fact, the President never organized more than 85,000 men under the new law, and that was the strength of the Army in August, 1901. Since then it has decreased until in June, 1902, the whole Army, officers and men, numbered only 67,000, and before the close of this year it will be at the minimum strength of 59,540 men. In the Philippines the Army has been reduced from time to time, and in December, 1901, its strength was only 40,050 men. The approximate strength of the Army in the Philippines in June, 1902, was 23,000 men, and when the orders already issued withdrawing additional troops have been carried out, the authorized strength to be retained there will not exceed 18,000. Within two years the Army in the Philippines had been reduced to less than one-third its strength in December, 1900.

DEMOCRATS OPPOSE ARMY APPROPRIATIONS.

"When I refuse to vote to protect the lives of American soldiers, I hope I shall be paralyzed."

This patriotic sentiment, uttered on the floor of the House of Representatives by Amos Cummings, of New York, in January, 1902, was in protest against the action of his party in opposing an appropriation to house and shelter the troops in the Philippines, to protect them from the torrential rains and miasmous airs of the region, and to furnish to the sick in hospitals a shield against the burning sun of the tropics.

Chairman Cannon, of the Appropriations Committee, had brought in the appropriation bill supplying urgent deficiencies for the Government service. Among the items was one of \$500,000 for the shelter of the troops. Mr. Richardson, the floor leader of the Democrats, questioned the appropriation, holding that it was not a deficiency. He wanted to know where was the original law authorizing the expenditure.

Mr. Cannon of Illinois (Republican) answered:

"I say there is an Army of the United States. The Army is in service in the Philippine Islands. In the garrison at Manila are nineteen hundred soldiers, who are housed partially in the old Spanish barracks; partially, perhaps, in captured buildings; partially in rented buildings. The Army is there now under the law. It is necessary to clothe them and to subsist them, to house them, in some instances in temporary barracks, and they are using these buildings as permanent barracks. Now, in the operations of the Army, for the purpose of efficient operations, it is necessary, in the opinion of the President and of the War Department, to construct barracks about 6 miles out from Manila that will cost \$500,000. If there be any law under which this appropriation would be apt in any bill without legislation it is the law that organizes the Army, that has placed it in the Philippines, and makes its necessary operations important to the public service."

The matter was debated at some length, and came up a day or two later in another way, Mr. Cannon presenting it in the form of an amendment to the bill, as follows:

"For the proper shelter and protection of officers and enlisted men of the Army of the United States, lawfully on duty in the Philippine Islands, to be expended in the discretion of the President, \$500,000."

Democratic leader Richardson raised the point of order against

the amendment that it was new legislation, seeking to have it ruled out of the bill in that way. He made a long argument to sustain his point, and was supported by Williams of Mississippi, and other Democrats. The Republicans defended the item, and the Chair finally overruled Mr. Richardson's point of order. Still determined to beat the appropriation, if possible, Mr. Richardson appealed from the decision of the Chair, and on a rising vote the Chair was sustained by 124 to 98.

When the bill came to final passage a separate vote was taken on the appropriation, and the yeas and nays were ordered, resulting in the passage of the item by a vote of 179 to 107. It was during the roll-call that Mr. Cummings, when his name was called, in answering "yea," made his patriotic utterance. His closing words were almost drowned by the cries of "regular order" from the Democrats, who thus made protest against the spontaneous patriotism of their colleague. Those who voted for and against the appropriation were as follows:

Yeas, 179 Adams, Alexander, Allen (Me.), Aplin, Babcock, Ball (Del.), Barney, Bates, Beidler, Bishop, Blackburn, Boreing, Boutell, Bowersock, Brick, Bristow, Bromwell, Brown, Burk (Pa.), Burke (S. Dak.), Burkett, Burleigh, Burton, Butler (Pa.), Calderhead, Cannon, Capron, Cassel, Cassingham, Connell, Conner, Coombs, Cooper (Wis.), Corliss, Cousins, Crowley, Crumpacker, Cummings, Currier, Curtis, Cushman, Dahle, Dalzell, Darragh, Davidson, Deemer, Dick, Draper, Eddy, Esch, Evans, Fletcher, Foerderer, Fordney, Foster (Ill.), Foster (Vt.), Fox, Gardner (Mich.), Gibson, Gill, Gillet (N. Y.), Gillett (Mass.), Gordon, Graff, Graham, Greene (Mass.), Grow, Hamilton, Haskins, Heatwole, Hemenway, Henry (Conn.), Hepburn, Hildebrandt, Hill, Hitt, Holliday, Howell, Hughes, Hull, Irwin, Jack, Jones (Wash.), Joy, Kahn, Kern, Ketcham, Knapp, Knox, Kyle, Lacey, Lawrence, Lessler, Lewis (Pa.), Lindsay, Littlefield, Long, Loudenslager, Lovering, McCall, McCleary, McCulloch, McLachlan, McKee, Mahon, Mahony, Marshall, Martin, Mercer, Miers (Ind.), Miller, Minor, Mondell, Moody (Mass.), Moody (N. C.), Moody (Ohio), Morgan, Morrell, Morris, Mudd, Needham, Nevin, Norton, Olin, Od, Orlen, Overstreet, Palmer, Parker, Patterson (Pa.), Payne, Peck, S. Powers (Mo.), Powers (Mass.), Prince, Ray (N. Y.), Reevler, Reeves, Roberts, Rumpie, Russell, Scott, Shattuc, Sheldon, Sherman, Showalter, Skiles, Smith (Ill.), Smith, H. C., Smith, S. W., Smith, Wm., Vden, Snook, Southard, Sperry, Steele, Stevens (Minn.), Stewart (N. J.), Stewart (N. Y.), Storm, Sulloway, Sutherland, Tawney, Taylor (Ohio), Taylor (Va.), Thomas (Iowa), Tirrell, Tompkins (Iowa), Tongue, Van Voorhis, Vreeland, Wachter, Wadsworth, Wagoner, Warnerck, Watson, Weeks, Williams (Ill.), Woods, Young, and Zeeor.

Nays, 107—Adamson, Allen (Ky.), Ball (Tex.), Bankhead, Bartlett, Bell, Bellamy, Belmont, Benton, Bowie, Brantley, Breazeale, Broussard, Brundidge, Burleson, Burnett, Butler (Mo.), Caldwell, Candler, Clayton, Cochran, Conry, Cooper (Tex.), Cowherd, Davey (La.), De Armond, De Graffenreid, Dinsmore, Edwards, Finley, Fitzgerald, Gaines (Tenn.), Gilbert, Glenn, Griggs, Hay, Henry (Miss.), Henry (Tex.), Hooker, Howard, Jackson (Kans.), Johnson, Jones (Va.), Kehoe, Kitchin, Claude; Kitchin, Wm. W.; Kleberg, Kluttz, Lanham, Latimer, Lester, Lever, Lewis (Ga.), Little, Livingston, Lloyd, McClellan, McDermott, McLain, Maddox, Moon, Mutchler, Napphen, Neville, Newlands, Otey, Padgett, Patterson (Tenn.), Pierce, Pou, Randell (Tex.), Reid, Rhea (Ky.), Richardson (Ala.), Richardson (Tenn.), Rixey, Robinson (Ind.), Robinson (Nebr.), Rucker, Ryan, Scarborough, Selby, Shackelford, Shafroth, Shallenberger, Sheppard, Sims, Slayden, Small, Snodgrass, Sparkman, Spight, Stark, Stephens (Tex.), Swanson, Talbert, Tate, Thayer, Thomas (N. C.), Thompson, Trimble, Underwood, Vandiver, White, Wiley, Williams (Miss.), and Wooten.

It is because we believe with all our heart and soul in the greatness of this country, because we feel the thrill of hardy life in our veins, and are confident that to us is given the privilege of playing a leading part in the century that has just opened, that we hail with eager delight the opportunity to do whatever task Providence may allot us.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

Grant had sent a regiment of ten companies of Union troops into my own county of Edgefield; sent there to repress the "rebels;" sent there to subject us to the government of those negroes and their carpetbag leaders. They were ordered to preserve order, to prevent us from terrorizing the negroes, to keep them from being kept from the polls, and to let them vote. They obeyed their orders as well as they could, but the result of that election was that, with a numerical majority of 2,000 more negroes who were 21 years of age, and who, under the dispensation of my friend from Maryland (Mr. McComas), were entitled to vote, and ought to be allowed to vote now—with ten companies of troops and 10,000,000 more back here to go down there if it was thought they were needed to keep us down, how did they come out in the struggle against white manhood and white brains? We only beat them 3,900 votes. (Laughter.) But we could have beaten them 6,900, or 9,900, or 99,000 if it had been necessary.—Senator B. F. Tillman, in the United States Senate, May 7, 1902.

REPEAL OF WAR TAXES.

One of the pledges of the Republican party redeemed by that party in the Fifty-seventh Congress was the repeal of the internal taxes levied to meet the expenses of the war with Spain.

The original act was passed as a war-revenue measure at the beginning of our war with Spain, and as a revenue-producer it proved a complete success. The revenue from internal taxes under the law brought into the Treasury of the United States the following annual sums:

For the period from June 13 to July 1, 1898.....	\$3,410,442.51
For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1899.....	102,359,618.36
For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900.....	105,374,227.95
For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901.....	107,646,213.05
From July 1, 1901, to December 31, 1901 (under act of March 2, 1901).....	34,152,462.18
Total	352,942,964.05

It was understood at the time of the passage of this act that it was purely a war measure, and that it would be repealed as soon as the war was over and the increased expense growing out of the war should cease.

In fulfillment of this understanding by the act of March 2, 1901, Congress attempted to reduce this taxation in an amount equal to \$40,000,000. How well it succeeded is shown by the reduction of \$20,063,159.35 for the six months following the time when the act of March 2, 1901, took effect. If no reduction had been made by Congress the natural increase, based upon the operations of the law for the previous three years, would indicate a revenue from the original act for the year ending June 30, 1902, of about \$109,000,000. Deducting from this amount the \$40,000,000 reduction, leaves an estimated revenue from the internal-revenue features of the original act of about \$69,000,000.

It was a wonderful condition of our national finances which enabled Congress to propose a reduction of \$73,000,000 in the annual revenues. History furnishes no parallel to the situation. We had on the 1st day of February, 1902, in the Treasury an available *cash balance* of \$177,632,088.26, and this notwithstanding the fact

that the Treasury has paid out of this available surplus during the present fiscal year in the purchase of bonds for the sinking fund the sum of \$61,196,444.56.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in his annual report, estimated the surplus of revenue over expenditures for the present fiscal year at \$100,000,000. Subsequent events have confirmed this estimate as conservative and reasonable. With this surplus for the year it seemed that, notwithstanding this reduction of \$73,000,000, we would still have a surplus of \$27,000,000 for the next fiscal year.

Early in the session of Congress the Ways and Means Committee brought in a bill repealing the war taxes. Prompt action was requested upon it, but of course the Democrats had to cavil at doing anything promptly, and the House of Representatives was compelled to bring them to terms by a rule being proposed providing for immediate consideration of the bill. With that the Democrats ceased opposition and the bill was passed. The Republican Senate was equally prompt, and the bill was passed through that body expeditiously.

It was one thing to make the promise to repeal these taxes; it was another to pursue an economic policy which would render repeal possible without injuring the resources of the Government. Under Republican administration the latter condition prevailed, and the promise was fulfilled.

The best statesmanship for America is that which looks to the highest interests of American labor and the highest development of American resources.—President McKinley, at Superior, Wis., October 12, 1899.

Shipping lines, if established to the principal countries with which we have dealings, would be of political as well as commercial benefit. From every standpoint it is unwise for the United States to continue to rely upon the ships of competing nations for the distribution of our goods. It should be made advantageous to carry American goods in American-built ships.—President Roosevelt, in Message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

While the nation that has dared to be great, that has had the will and the power to change the destiny of the ages, in the end must die, yet no less surely the nation that has played the part of the weakling must also die; and, whereas the nation that has done nothing leaves nothing behind it, the nation that has done a great work really continues, though in changed form, forevermore.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

THE ISTHMIAN CANAL.

LEGISLATION IN HARMONY WITH RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE ISTHMIAN CANAL COMMISSION.

Need of a Canal.—The wonderful voyage of the *Oregon* from San Francisco to Santiago, and the anxiety of the American people for the magnificent battleship during that perilous run around the South American coast, was in large measure responsible for the determination that an isthmian canal must be under the control of this Government. For more than half a century the American people have favorably considered an isthmian canal in the interest of enlarged facilities for commerce, just as have the people of Europe given favorable consideration to projects to cut the American isthmus and unite the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans in the track of the world's commerce. But when the nation was engaged in war with a foreign power holding the gateway to the Caribbean Sea, and one of our greatest battleships had to make a long voyage around Cape Horn to defend the flag, commercial interests became secondary to national defense, and public sentiment crystalized in favor of the isthmian canal owned and controlled by the Government.

This new policy took form in 1898 and received the sanction of the Fifty-fifth Congress at the close of the session, March 3, 1899. The long discussion of canal projects by private enterprise and Government aid ended in the act appropriating \$1,000,000 to provide for a complete investigation of all canal routes across the isthmus "with a view to the construction of a canal by the United States." This was the first time legislation by Congress indicated that there should be a canal under complete control by the Federal Government, owned not by a commercial corporation, but by all the people of the United States. It was a new Republican policy, inaugurated under the administration of President McKinley with patriotism rather than commercialism as its inspiration.

Authorization of a Survey.—By the act of March 3, 1899, the President was authorized "to make full and complete investigation of the Isthmus of Panama with a view to the construction of a canal by the United States across the same to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans." The President was authorized to "make investigation of any and all practicable routes for a canal across said Isthmus of Panama, and particularly to investigate the two routes known respectively as the Nicaragua route and the Panama route, with a view to determining the most practicable

and feasible route for such canal, together with the proximate and probable cost of constructing a canal to each of two or more of said routes." The President was further authorized to "investigate and ascertain what rights, privileges, and franchises, if any, may be held or owned by any corporations, associations, or individuals, and what work, if any, has been done by such corporations, associations, or individuals in the construction of a canal at either of said routes, and particularly at the so-called Nicaraguan and Panama routes, respectively, and likewise to ascertain the cost of purchasing all the rights, privileges and franchises," and "the probable or proximate cost of constructing a suitable harbor at each of the termini of said canal with the probable annual cost of maintenance of said harbors, respectively." Then the act provided generally that the President should "make such full and complete investigation as to determine the most feasible and practicable route across said isthmus for a canal, together with the cost of constructing the same and *placing the same under the control, management, and ownership of the United States.*"

Three Main Considerations.—This action by Congress settled these general points: First. That there must be a canal across the American isthmus. Second. That the canal must be built, owned, controlled, and protected by the United States. Third. That the canal must be built upon the best route. It was a great advance from the old position of all political parties and all general considerations of canal legislation in this country. But the war with Spain and the necessity for quickly concentrating the navy for defense on either coast made the new policy necessary, and it met with general and hearty approval. There was to be no further consideration of aid to individuals or corporations holding concessions and desirous of securing the assistance of the Government in their enterprise. Such had been the trend of proposed legislation before Congress for more than half a century.

President McKinley fully appreciated the action of Congress. It meant that he should assume responsibility for an investigation as to all canal routes across the Isthmus, rather than the cost and feasibility of the Nicaragua Canal. He therefore exercised the utmost care in selecting the Commission to make this investigation. The construction of an inter-oceanic canal by the Government is the greatest public work that has ever been projected, and through territory not belonging to the United States. It is proposed to inaugurate a gigantic business enterprise by the Government, and the President went about the preliminaries in a business-like way, selecting for the Commission the most eminent military and civil engineers to be found in this country.

The Canal Commission.—The members of the Commission com-

prise distinguished officers of the Army and Navy, civil engineers who stand in the very front of their profession, and a distinguished jurist, a former member of the Senate. At the head of the Commission the President placed Rear-Admiral Walker from the Navy. He associated with him Lieut. Col. Oswald H. Ernst and Col. Peter C. Hains, of the Army. From civil engineering life he took George S. Morrison, Alfred Noble, William H. Burr, and Lewis M. Haupt. Ex-Senator Samuel Pasco was made the legal member of the Commission and Prof. Emory R. Johnson was added as an authority on the industrial and commercial value of an inter-oceanic canal.

The Commission divided itself into committees for the special study of five questions: 1. To investigate the Nicaragua route. 2. To investigate the Panama route. 3. To investigate other possible routes. 4. To investigate the industrial, commercial, and military value of a canal. 5. To investigate the rights, privileges, and franchises. Working parties were organized and sent into the field. Of these twenty working parties were organized in Nicaragua with 159 engineers and assistants and 455 laborers; 5 in Panama with 20 engineers and assistants and 41 laborers; 6 in Darien, with 54 engineers and assistants and 112 laborers. The Commission visited Europe to examine the plans and records of the Panama Canal Company in Paris; the Kiel Canal in Germany, the North Sea Canal in Holland, and the Manchester Canal and Liverpool Docks in England. The Commission also visited Nicaragua, Costa Rico, and Panama, going over both the Nicaragua and Panama routes carefully.

First Report of Commission.—The Commission made a short preliminary report to the President on November 30, 1900; a detailed report on November 16, 1901, and their last report on January 18, 1902. Both the earlier reports concluded with the statement that "the most practicable and feasible route" for an isthmian canal, to be "under the control, management, and ownership of the United States, is that known as the Nicaragua route," while the last report concluded with the statement that such route "is that known as the Panama route." There is no inconsistency in these conclusions. All the reports show that the Commission considered the Panama route far superior to the Nicaragua route, in harbors, in elevation, in cost of construction, in cost of maintenance, in facility of navigation; in everything, in short, which goes to make a desirable canal route; but the Panama route was owned by the New Panama Canal Company, which was itself engaged in constructing the canal there.

At the time of the preliminary report no proposition for a sale to the United States could be drawn from the Panama Company

in spite of all efforts of the Commission to get one. At the time of the report of November 16, 1901, the nearest approach to a price being named by the company had been a valuation of some \$109,000,000 placed upon the property by the then president of the company. The Commission (in the report of November, 1901) had estimated its value to the United States at \$40,000,000, and they stated in that report that they considered that "the price fixed by the Panama Canal Company for a sale of its property and franchises is so unreasonable that its acceptance can not be recommended by this Commission." Their conclusion, therefore, in favor of the Nicaragua route was expressly stated by them to have been reached upon a consideration of "the actual situation as it now stands and having in view the terms offered by the New Panama Canal Company."

It must be remembered that the act did not direct the Commission to ascertain and report merely the best route for a canal, but the best route for a canal to be "under the control, management, and ownership of the United States." The Commission were bound by this last limitation. All three of the Isthmian Canal Commission reports make it plain that they considered the Panama route the superior, but since the exorbitant price made it impossible to acquire that route for the United States, the Commission had no choice under the limitations of the act but to accept the inferior route, the Nicaragua.

On January 4 of the present year, however, the New Panama Canal Company did make a definite offer to sell and transfer all its rights, property, and works to the United States, including plans and archives, for the sum which the Commission had estimated them to be worth to the United States—\$40,000,000.

Thereupon, President Roosevelt, construing the previous reports of the Commission for the adoption of the Nicaragua route as having been due to the prohibitory price put upon the property and concessions of the New Panama Canal Company, reconvened the Commission to report further in the light of the changed situation. The Commission met, and, the only obstacle to the acquisition of the Panama route having thus been removed, the Commission unanimously recommended acceptance of the offer and unanimously decided that "the most practicable and feasible route for an isthmian canal, to be under the control, management, and ownership of the United States, is that known as the Panama route." This is the last report, of January 18, 1902, and was immediately submitted by the President to both Houses of Congress.

Supplemental Report of Commission.—In that last report the Commission says:

"In reciting its conclusions in the report dated November 16, 1901,

this Commission stated that the selection of the most feasible and practicable route must be made between the Nicaragua and Panama locations, adopting a plan of canal with locks in each case.

"It concluded that the water-supply features were satisfactory on both sides, that both dams, by which the summit levels would be sustained, were practicable, the advantage being in favor of the Conchuda dam at Nicaragua; that the plan of regulating the summit level was practicable in each case, though less simple on the Nicaragua route than on the Panama; that the present means of transportation were inadequate on the Nicaragua route, while a well-equipped railroad was in operation along the entire length of the Panama route; that there are now no natural harbors at Nicaragua, while serviceable ones exist at both ends of the Panama route, and although with the completion of the harbors as planned one route would have little advantage over the other, the balance was probably in favor of Panama; that owing to the absence of harbors and railroads the period of preparation at Nicaragua would be twice that at Panama.

"It was also the sense of the Commission that the total time required for the construction of the canal by the Panama route would be ten years and eight years by the Nicaragua route, with a greater probability of exigencies causing delays on the latter than on the former.

"The estimated cost of constructing the Nicaragua Canal is \$15,630,704 more than the cost of completing the Panama Canal.

"The estimated annual cost of maintenance and operation is \$1,300,000 greater at Nicaragua than at Panama.

"The Panama route would be 134.6 miles shorter than the Nicaragua route from sea to sea, with fewer locks and less curvature both in degrees and miles. The estimated time for a deep-draft vessel to pass through the Nicaragua Canal was placed at thirty-three hours, as against twelve hours for Panama, these estimates being the time of actual navigation and not including delays for winds, currents, or darkness.

"If the passage were made without interruption about a day could be saved by the Nicaragua over the Panama route by ordinary steamers handling commerce between our Pacific ports and all Atlantic ports, and about two days by steamers of the same class trading between our Gulf ports and North Pacific ports. The time advantage of the Nicaragua route would be less in the case of fast high-powered steamers, the use of which is increasing. Between Atlantic ports and the west coast of South America the Panama route has the advantage of about two days, and between the Gulf ports and the west coast of South America the Panama route has the advantage of about one day. The trade of the west-

ern coast of South America is a very important one, which has hitherto been in European hands.

"The Panama route is an old highway of commerce, along which no considerable industrial development is likely to occur. During the construction of a canal on the Nicaragua route business relations would be established with Costa Rica and Nicaragua which would be likely to continue. Existing conditions indicate hygienic advantages at Nicaragua, though equally effective sanitary measures must be taken in both cases.

"The offer from the New Panama Canal Company to convey all its property, including all interest in the Panama Railroad, to the United States, will make the estimated cost of the two canals as follows:

Nicaragua	\$189,864,062
Panama	184,222,358

"The transfer would give title to all the land now held by both the Panama Canal Company and the Panama Railroad Company, which covers nearly all lands required for the construction of the canal. The land held by private parties at Nicaragua must be acquired, and its acquisition may prove expensive.

* * * * *

"The advantage of the two canal routes have been restated according to the findings of the former report. There has been no change in the views of the Commission with reference to any of these conclusions then reached, but the new proposition submitted by the New Panama Canal Company makes a reduction of nearly \$70,000,000 in the cost of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama according to the estimates contained in the former report, and with this reduction a canal can there be constructed for more than \$5,500,000 less than through Nicaragua. The unreasonable sum asked for the property and rights of the New Panama Canal Company when the Commission reached its former conclusion overbalanced the advantages of that route; but now that the estimates by the two routes have been nearly equalized the Commission can form its judgment by weighing the advantages of each and determining which is the more practicable and feasible.

* * * * *

"After considering the changed conditions that now exist and all the facts and circumstances upon which its present judgment must be based, the Commission is of the opinion that 'the most practicable and feasible route for an isthmian canal to be under the control, management, and ownership of the United States' is that known as the 'Panama route.'"

President McKinley also directed the efforts of the State De-

partment to removing the diplomatic embarrassment to canal legislation that meant the Government ownership and control of an isthmian canal. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Great Britain, negotiated in 1850, was a bar to such an enterprise on the part of this Government.

Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.—The first article of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty provided:

"The Governments of the United States and Great Britain hereby declare that neither the one nor the other will ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said ship canal; agreeing that neither will ever erect or maintain any fortifications commanding the same or in the vicinity thereof, or occupy, or fortify, or colonize, or assume, or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America; nor will either make use of any protection which either affords or may afford, or any alliance which either has or may have to or with any State or people, for the purpose of erecting or maintaining any such fortifications, or of occupying, fortifying, or colonizing Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast, or any part of Central America, or of assuming or exercising dominion over the same; nor will the United States or Great Britain take advantage of any intimacy, or use any alliance, connection, or influence that either may possess with any State or Government through whose territory the said canal may pass, for the purpose of acquiring or holding, directly or indirectly, for the citizens or subjects of the one, any rights or advantages in regard to commerce or navigation through the said canal which shall not be offered on the same terms to the citizens or subjects of the other."

That treaty was in full force and binding on the United States until it was modified, by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, signed in Washington November 18, 1901, and ratified by the Senate December 16, 1901.

New Treaty Negotiated.—President McKinley, notwithstanding this diplomatic barrier to the construction of an isthmian canal to be owned and controlled and protected by the United States, directed the State Department to begin negotiations for a new treaty with Great Britain that should modify the Clayton-Bulwer treaty.

Secretary Hay succeeded in negotiating a new treaty which was signed by him and Lord Pauncefote, the British Ambassador, February 5, 1900. That treaty provided:

"It is agreed that the canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States, either directly at its own cost or by gift or loan of money to individuals or corporations or through subscriptions to or purchase of stock or shares,

and that, subject to the provisions of the present convention, the said Government shall have and enjoy all the rights incident to such construction, as well as the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal."

But to preserve and maintain the general principle of neutralization established in Article VIII of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the rules embodied in the convention between Great Britain and the Powers for the free navigation of the Suez Canal were adopted.

The United States Senate amended this treaty by providing first, that it should supersede the Clayton-Bulwer treaty; second, that none of the conditions and stipulations in these rules should apply to measures which the United States might find it necessary to take for securing by its own forces the defense of the United States and the maintenance of public order; and third, by striking out Article III, by which it was agreed that the other Powers should be invited to adhere to the convention.

These amendments were not agreeable to Great Britain and negotiations were renewed for another convention which was signed in Washington by Secretary John Hay and Lord Pauncefote, the British Ambassador, December 2, 1901, and ratified by the Senate December 16, 1901.

This new treaty is as follows:

Hay-Pauncefote Treaty.—The United States of America and His Majesty Edward the Seventh, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, and Emperor of India, being desirous to facilitate the construction of a ship canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, by whatever route may be considered expedient, and to that end to remove any objection which may arise out of the convention of the 19th April, 1850, commonly called the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, to the construction of such canal under the auspices of the Government of the United States, without impairing the "general principle" of neutralization established in Article VIII of that convention, have for that purpose appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The President of the United States, John Hay, Secretary of State of the United States of America;

And His Majesty Edward the Seventh, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King and Emperor of India, the Right Honorable Lord Pauncefote, G. C. B., G. C. M. G., His Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the United States;

Who, having communicated to each other their full powers, which were found to be in due and proper form, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I.—The high contracting parties agree that the present

treaty shall supersede the afore-mentioned convention of the 19th April, 1850.

Article II.—It is agreed that the canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States either directly at its own cost, or by gift or loan of money to individuals or corporations, or through subscription to or purchase of stock or shares, and that, subject to the provisions of the present treaty, the said Government shall have and enjoy all the rights incident to such construction, as well as the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal.

Article III.—The United States adopts, as the basis of the neutralization of such ship canal, the following rules, substantially as embodied in the Convention of Constantinople, signed the 28th October, 1888, for the free navigation of the Suez Canal, that is to say:

1. The canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations observing these rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation, or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise. Such conditions and charges of traffic shall be just and equitable.

2. The canal shall never be blockaded, nor shall any right of war be exercised nor any act of hostility be committed within it. The United States, however, shall be at liberty to maintain such military police along the canal as may be necessary to protect it against lawlessness and disorder.

3. Vessels of war of a belligerent shall not revictual nor take any stores in the canal except so far as may be strictly necessary; and the transit of such vessels through the canal shall be effected with the least possible delay in accordance with the regulations in force, and with only such intermission as may result from the necessities of the service.

Prizes shall be in all respects subject to the same rules as vessels of war of the belligerents.

4. No belligerent shall embark or disembark troops, munitions of war, or warlike materials in the canal, except in case of accidental hindrance of the transit, and in such case the transit shall be resumed with all possible dispatch.

5. The provisions of this article shall apply to waters adjacent to the canal, within 3 marine miles of either end. Vessels of war of a belligerent shall not remain in such waters longer than twenty-four hours at any one time, except in case of distress, and in such case shall depart as soon as possible; but a vessel of war of one belligerent shall not depart within twenty-four hours from the departure of a vessel of war of the other belligerent.

6. The plant, establishment, buildings, and all works necessary to the construction, maintenance, and operation of the canal shall be deemed to be part thereof, for the purposes of this treaty, and in time of war, as in time of peace, shall enjoy complete immunity from attack or injury by belligerents, and from acts calculated to impair their usefulness as part of the canal.

Article IV.—It is agreed that no change of territorial sovereignty or of international relations of the country or countries traversed by the beforementioned canal shall affect the general principle of neutralization or the obligation of the high contracting parties under the present treaty.

Article V.—The present treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States by and with the advice and the consent of the Senate thereof, and by His Britannic Majesty; and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Washington or at London at the earliest possible time within six months from the date hereof.

In faith whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty and hereunto affixed their seals.

Done in duplicate at Washington, the 18th day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and one.

[Seal.]

JOHN HAY.

[Seal.]

PAUNCEFOTE.

This treaty removed the diplomatic barrier that had for more than fifty years stood in the way of a canal to be owned and controlled by the United States.

The State Department also negotiated protocols with Nicaragua and Costa Rica and with Colombia providing terms for securing concessions from these Governments in the event of legislation for a canal by either the Panama or Nicaragua routes.

Action of Congress.—On the first day of the session of the Fifty-seventh Congress Representative Hepburn introduced in the House a bill providing for an Isthmian Canal. It was considered and favorably reported by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, December 19, and made a special order for consideration by the House January 7. It was substantially the same as a bill introduced by Mr. Hepburn and passed by the House in the Fifty-sixth Congress. It authorized the President to acquire from the States of Costa Rica and Nicaragua for and on behalf of the United States control over such portion of territory belonging to those States as may be desirable and necessary on which to construct and protect a canal from Greytown to Brito.

Section 2 provided that when the President had secured full control over this territory he should direct the Secretary of War to construct a canal and provide for its protection. Section 3

authorized the President to employ such persons as may be deemed necessary in the surveys for and construction of the canal. Section 4 directed that the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua be used where available for the canal. Section 5 authorized the President to guarantee to Nicaragua and Costa Rica the use of the canal and harbors. Section 6 appropriated the sum of \$10,000,000 toward the project and authorized contracts not to exceed in the aggregate \$180,000,000. This bill was in harmony with the first report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, which recommended the Nicaragua route as the most feasible and practicable because of the extravagant price asked for the Panama Canal. The bill was debated for three days and passed by a practically unanimous vote, only two votes being recorded against it. The supplementary report of the Canal Commission was made public after this action by the House. The Senate Committee on Inter-Oceanic Canals made two reports, the majority in favor of the Hepburn bill and the minority, composed of Senators Hanna, Kittredge, and Pritchard, in favor of the Spooner substitute, which was, after amendment, adopted by the Senate June 19.

The Spooner bill was agreed to unanimously by the Conference Committees of the Senate and House, and passed Congress.

The Act of Congress.—The law authorizes the President to acquire at a cost not exceeding \$40,000,000 the rights, privileges, franchises, concessions, grants of lands, right of way, unfinished work, plants and other property, real and personal, owned by the New Panama Canal Company of France, on the Isthmus of Panama, including all the capital stock of the Panama Railroad Company, provided a satisfactory title to all of the said property can be obtained. The President is also authorized to acquire from the Republic of Colombia perpetual control of a strip of territory not less than 6 miles wide, extending from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean, and to complete the construction of the Panama Canal.

But if the President, after investigation, is not satisfied that the New Panama Canal Company can give a good title to its property, he is authorized to secure from Nicaragua and Costa Rica control of the necessary territory and construct a ship canal from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean by what is commonly known as the Nicaragua route. The law authorizes the President to appoint a Canal Commission to have charge of the work, and the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to borrow \$130,000,000 and issue 2 per cent. ten-year gold bonds in the denominations of \$20 and multiples of that sum.

This is the law and it insures the construction of an isthmian canal, by the Panama route, if the title to that property can be

transferred to the United States, and if not, by the Nicaragua route. This is another pledge carried out by the Republican party.

The passages of this act of Congress cleared the way for direct negotiations by the State Department, and within ten days after the adjournment of Congress the Government of France, through diplomatic correspondence and by action of the French courts, had removed most embarrassments in the way of the transfer of the title from the new Panama Company to the United States. The Government of France has given assurances to this Government that no claims against the property will be presented after the payment of \$40,000,000 and the transfer of the title. The Attorney-General of the United States arranged to visit Paris and investigate the title and all legal questions relating to the transfer to this Government.

The State Department also resumed its negotiations with the minister of Colombia, immediately after the adjournment of Congress, with the result that amendments to the treaty were agreed to and sent to the Colombian Government for approval. These amendments are to make the treaty agree not only with the Spooner act, but also with the spirit of Congress as developed in the debate on the canal bill. They provide for defenses of the canal, for the police power of this Government on the territory adjacent to the canal, and for a definite price to be paid for the concession. It is now certain that the new treaty with Colombia will be sent to the Senate in December, and with the ratification of that treaty, the transfer of the Panama Canal to the United States Government will be completed and the work of constructing the great waterway will be commenced by the President. The whole work of Congress and the Executive Department of the Government, under Republican guidance, has been to carry out the will of the people, with the greatest possible expedition, and provide for an isthmian canal. That canal will be constructed and ready for use within ten years.

This is another illustration of the business methods of the Republican party in carrying out great public policies in harmony with the demands of the people.

It is not only highly desirable, but necessary, that there should be legislation which shall carefully shield the interests of wage-workers, and which shall discriminate in favor of the honest and humane employer by removing the disadvantage under which he stands when compared with unscrupulous competitors who have no conscience, and will do right only under fear of punishment.—*Theodore Roosevelt*, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

THE CUBAN REPUBLIC.

THE GROUNDWORK OF A REPUBLICAN FORM OF GOVERNMENT LAID BY THE UNITED STATES.

The Cuban Republic, inaugurated May 20, 1902, is the most significant mark of the progress of democratic government under the guidance and protection of the United States in the new century. It is in marked contrast to the developments in South Africa.

There the Boer Republics have been suppressed by England and made Crown colonies of the Empire. Here, after a war for freedom from oppression, Cuba has been freed from Spain, her affairs successfully administered, and the groundwork of a republican form of government laid by the United States Army, and this model handed over to the Cuban people by the American soldiers who fought for and won their freedom. The Cuban Republic and the Cuban flag over the Morro at Havana are the newest and best testimonials to the fidelity of the present Republican Administration to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. They illustrate a new order of imperialism—the imperialism of democracy. The United States has not only freed Cuba, but has guaranteed the continuance of her independence against the encroachment of any foreign power and internal revolution. There is only one way the Cuban Republic can cease, and that is by the voice of her own people asking for closer ties with the United States by annexation to be placed in the same list with Porto Rico and Hawaii.

Purpose of the War with Spain.—The sole purpose of the war with Spain was the freedom of Cuba from the oppression of the Spanish Government. The revolution in Cuba had become a menace to the peace and prosperity of the American people. A minority in Congress desired to recognize the so-called Cuban government in the spring of 1898—a government that only existed on paper and had no existence in fact. But President McKinley and the Republican leaders in Congress looked beyond the expulsion of Spain to the necessity for a stable as well as an independent government in Cuba. In his message to Congress April 11, 1898, President McKinley said:

“The only hope of relief and repose from a condition which can no longer be endured is the enforced pacification of Cuba. In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop.

"In view of these facts and of these considerations I ask the Congress to authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the island the establishment of a stable government, capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, insuring peace and tranquillity and the security of its citizens as well as our own, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes."

Action of the Republican Congress.—The Republican majority in Congress followed the President's recommendation, and the following was the final form of the resolutions adopted:

First. That the people of the island of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several States, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

Fourth. That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people.

Only two Democratic Senators voted for the resolution, Gray and Morgan. The vote was as follows:

Yeas, 42.—Aldrich, Allison, Baker, Burrows, Carter, Chandler, Clark, Cullom, Davis, Deboe, Elkins, Fairbanks, Faulkner, Foraker, Frye, Gallinger, Gear, Gray, Hale, Hanna, Hansbrough, Hawley, Kyle, Lodge, McBride, McMillin, Mason, Morgan, Morrill, Nelson, Penrose, Perkins, Platt (Conn.), Pritchard, Proctor, Quay, Sewell, Shoup, Spooner, Warren, Wilson, and Wolcott.

Nays, 35.—Allen, Bacon, Bate, Berry, Butler, Caffrey, Cannon, Chilton, Clay, Cockrell, Daniel, Harris, Heitfeld, Jones (Ark.), Jones (Nev.), Kenney, Lindsay, McEnery, McLaurin, Mallory, Mantle, Martin, Mitchell, Money, Pasco, Pettigrew, Pettus, Rawlins, Roach, Stewart, Teller, Turley, Turner, Turpie, and White.

Not voting, 11.—Gorman, Hoar, Mills, Murphy, Platt (N. Y.), Thurston, Tillman, Vest, Walthall, Wellington, and Wetmore.

The Democrats still boast that they brought on the war, but

they opposed the policy of the President to have the object of that war clearly defined, so as to not be a source of misunderstanding and trouble ever afterward.

The protocol, which ended hostilities between the United States and Spain, signed August 12, 1898, provided that "Cuba, Porto Rico, and other Spanish islands in the West Indies shall be immediately evacuated," and the treaty of peace signed in Paris in December provided: "Spain relinquishes all the claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba, and as the island is upon the evacuation of Spain to be occupied by the United States, the United States will, so long as such occupation shall last, assume and discharge the obligations that may under international law result from the fact of its occupation for the protection of life and property."

Control of Cuba by the United States.—The United States military authorities took over the control of Cuba on January 1, 1899. In his first proclamation, General Brooke, who became governor-general of the island, said: "The object of the present government is to give protection to the people and security to person and property, to restore confidence, to encourage the people to resume the pursuits of peace, to build up waste plantations, to resume commercial traffic, and to afford full protection in the exercise of all civil and religious rights."

The first perplexing question before this Government in its new duties to Cuba was to make a favorable disposition of the insurgent army. The Cubans could not agree how this army should be disbanded. The United States Congress finally appropriated \$3,000,000 to be distributed among the troops upon the surrender of their arms. This was accomplished in September, 1899.

The efforts of the military government in Cuba were chiefly in three directions: First, toward the reformation of the courts, which were so corrupt under Spanish rule as to have utterly destroyed their usefulness or value as mediums of dispensing justice; second, the establishment of a proper educational system in the island, and, third, the improvement of the sanitary conditions of the cities. The courts were, during the year 1899, remodeled, and have gained the respect and confidence of the citizens of the island. Schools were opened wherever practicable, and a large number of native Cubans placed in charge to take up the educational work, and the sanitary work in the cities was pushed forward with great success, especially in Santiago and Havana, the result being that despite the war conditions which had so long prevailed, the island passed through the summer of 1899 with an unusually small loss of life from those diseases peculiar to these conditions in a tropical climate. On August 17, 1899, President McKinley issued a proclamation to the people of Cuba, announcing the census as a prelun-

inary step to preparations for the establishment of civil self-government, which the people of that island had so long desired, saying: "The disorganized condition of your island resulting from the war and the absence of any generally recognized authority aside from the temporary military control of the United States have made it necessary that the United States should follow the restoration of order and peaceful industry by giving its assistance and supervision to the successive steps by which you will proceed to the establishment of an effective system of self-government." The direction of the temporary government of Cuba was transferred to General Wood in 1900, General Brooke having been relieved of that duty at his own request.

Progress in Cuba.—In his last report on the conditions in Cuba, the Secretary of War said that there were now more than 3,600 teachers employed in the schools with an average enrollment of 180,000 and an average attendance of 140,000 pupils.

The island has been freed from yellow fever, and that danger has been removed from the United States. The revenues of the island have been expended for the benefit of the Cuban people, to give them a republican form of government, free schools, courts free from old imperial prejudices, public roads, and other public works to make the people prosperous and healthy.

A census was held and elections authorized to select delegates to a constitutional convention. The convention adopted a constitution in June, 1901, and in October adopted a general electoral law providing for a general election to be held December 31, 1901. At that election governors of provinces, provincial councilors, members of the House of Representatives and Presidential and Senatorial electors were chosen. On February 24, 1902, the several bodies of electors met and elected a President, Vice-President, and Senators. Thomas Estrada Palma was elected President, and he was inaugurated May 20, 1902. The American flag, which had protected Cuba for three years, was withdrawn, and the Cuban flag took its place over the new Republic made possible and in fact established and developed by American soldiers.

Relinquishment of American Authority.—In turning over the government of Cuba to President Palma, Governor-General Wood delivered this message:

"HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF CUBA,

"*Habana, May 20, 1902.*

"To the President and Congress of the Republic of Cuba:

"SIRS: Under the direction of the President of the United States I now transfer to you as the duly elected representatives of the people of Cuba the government and control of the island, to be held

and exercised by you under the provisions of the constitution of the Republic of Cuba heretofore adopted by the constitutional convention and this day promulgated; and I hereby declare the occupation of Cuba by the United States and the military government of the island to be ended.

"The transfer of government and control is upon the express condition, and the Government of the United States will understand that by the acceptance thereof you do now, pursuant to the provisions of the said constitution, assume and undertake, all and several, the obligations assumed by the United States with respect to Cuba by the treaty between the United States of America and Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain, signed at Paris on the 10th day of December, 1898.

"All money obligations of the military government down to this date have been paid as far as practicable. The public civil funds derived from the revenues of Cuba transferred to you this day, amounting to \$689,191.02, are transferred subject to such claims and obligations properly payable out of the revenues of the island as may remain. The sum of \$100,000 has been reserved from the transfer funds to defray anticipated expenses of accounting, reporting, and winding up the affairs of the military government, after which any unexpended balance of said sum will be paid into the treasury of the island.

"The plans already devised for the sanitation of the cities of the island and to prevent a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases, to which the Government of the United States understands that the provision of the constitution contained in the fifth article of the appendix applies, are as follows:

"(1.) A plan for the paving and sewerage of the city of Habana, for which a contract has been awarded by the municipal council of that city to McGivney, Rokeby & Co.

"(2.) A plan for waterworks to supply the city of Santiago de Cuba, prepared by Capt. S. E. Rockenbach, in charge of the district of Santiago, and approved by the military governor, providing for taking water from the wells of San Juan canyon, and pumping the same to reservoirs located on the heights to the east of the city.

"(3.) A plan for the sewerage of the city of Santiago de Cuba, a contract for which was awarded to Michael J. Dady & Co., by the military governor of Cuba, and now under construction.

"(4.) The rules and regulations established by the President of the United States on the 17th of January, 1899, for the maintenance of quarantine against epidemic diseases at the ports of Habana, Matanzas, Cienfuegos, and Santiago de Cuba, and thereafter at the other ports of the island, as extended and amended and made applicable to future conditions, by the order of the military governor,

dated —, published in the Official Gazette of Habana on the — day of April, 1902.

"(5.) The sanitary rules and regulations in force in the city of Habana (and in any other city having official rules, etc.).

"It is understood by the United States that the present government of the Isle of Pines will continue a *de facto* government, pending the settlement of the title to said island by treaty pursuant to the Cuban constitution and the act of Congress of the United States approved March 2, 1901.

"I am further charged by the President of the United States to deliver to you the letter which I now hand you.

"LEONARD WOOD, *Military Governor.*"

Gratitude of the Cubans.—President Palma's response was as follows:

"I receive in this act the government of the island of Cuba, which you transfer to me in compliance with the orders communicated to you by the President of the United States, and I recognize that in this act the military occupation of the island ceases. In accepting this transfer I declare that the government of the Republic of Cuba assumes, in conformity with what is determined in the constitution, each and all of the obligations that the Government of the United States took upon itself in regard to Cuba by virtue of the treaty signed on the 10th day of December, 1898, between the United States and Her Majesty the Queen Regent of Spain.

"I note that all financial responsibilities contracted by the military government up to this date have been paid; that \$100,000 has been set aside to attend, in so far as is necessary, to the liquidation and settlement of the obligations contracted by said government, and that there have been transferred to the government of the Republic \$689,191.02, which constitutes the balance in cash to the credit of the nation.

"In all that Article V of the constitutional appendix be applicable the government will take care to facilitate the execution of the work of sanitation planned by the military government. The Cuban government will also endeavor, as far as possible and as far as depends on it, to comply with the necessity of sanitation and of the observance of the system established by the military government of Cuba.

"It is understood that the Isle of Pines continues *de facto* under the jurisdiction of the government of the Republic pending what will be agreed upon between the United States and Cuba and in conformity with what is ordered in the Cuban constitution and by the law voted by the Congress of the United States passed March 2 1901.

"I receive with great satisfaction the letter which President Roosevelt has addressed to the Congress of the Republic and to me on account of the sentiments of friendship therein expressed for the people of Cuba.

"I take advantage of this solemn occasion, when there is fulfilled the honest promise of the government and of the people of the United States in regard to the island of Cuba, and when the personality of our country is established as a sovereign nation, to express to you as a worthy representative of that great nation the immense gratitude that the people of Cuba feel for the American nation, for its illustrious President, Theodore Roosevelt, and to you personally, for the efforts which you have made for the attainment of that cherished ideal."

President Roosevelt sent his congratulations to the President of Cuba, and Secretary Hay on the same day notified the nations of the world of the inauguration of the new government.

McKinley's Policy Carried Out.—The policy of President McKinley has been worked out. Instead of recognizing a revolutionary government in Cuba, this Government has expelled Spain from the islands, conducted a republican form of government during the military occupation as an object lesson to the Cuban people, and given them the opportunity to peacefully formulate a constitution and elect and inaugurate a government representative of the whole Cuban people.

The Platt Amendment.—To provide for the inauguration of the Cuban government without the delays necessary for recognition, Congress, on March 2, 1901, adopted the following as an amendment to the Army appropriation bill, to provide for the future relations between Cuba and the United States:

"Provided further, That in fulfillment of the declaration contained in the joint resolution approved April 20, 1898, entitled, 'For the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the island of Cuba, and to withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect,' the President is hereby authorized to 'leave the government and control of the island of Cuba to its people' so soon as a government shall have been established in said island under a constitution which, either as a part thereof or in an ordinance appended thereto, shall define the future relations of the United States with Cuba, substantially as follows:

"1. That the government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any

manner authorize or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonization or for military or naval purposes or otherwise, lodgment in or control over any portion of said island.

"II. That said government shall not assume or contract any public debt, to pay the interest upon which, and to make reasonable sinking fund provision for the ultimate discharge of which the ordinary revenues of the island, after defraying the current expenses of government, shall be inadequate.

"III. That the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the government of Cuba.

"IV. That all acts of the United States in Cuba during its military occupancy thereof are ratified and validated, and all lawful rights acquired thereunder shall be maintained and protected.

"V. That the government of Cuba will execute, and, as far as necessary, extend, the plans already devised or other plans to be mutually agreed upon, for the sanitation of the cities of the island, to the end that a recurrence of epidemic and infectious diseases may be prevented, thereby assuring protection to the people and commerce of Cuba, as well as to the commerce of the southern ports of the United States and the people residing therein.

"VI. That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty.

"VII. That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defense, the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points, to be agreed upon with the President of the United States.

"VIII. That by way of further assurance the government of Cuba will embody the foregoing provisions in a permanent treaty with the United States.

"By direction of the War Department the military governor formally communicated these provisions to the convention and advised that body that the President awaited its action thereon.

"On the 3d of April the following dispatch was sent to the military governor, who communicated it to a committee of the convention:

"Wood, *Habana*:

"You are authorized to state officially that in the view of the President the intervention described in the third clause of the Platt amendment is not synonymous with intermeddling or interference with the affairs of the Cuban government, but the formal action of the Government of the United States, based upon just and substantial grounds, for the preservation of Cuban independence, and the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and adequate for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States.

"ELIHU ROOT, *Secretary of War*."

The Cuban Constitutional Convention on June 12, 1901, adopted an ordinance making provisions identical with those of the Platt amendment, and that ordinance now provides for the relations between Cuba and the United States.

Intent of the Platt Amendment.—Senator Beveridge of Indiana, in an elaborate article on Cuba and Congress, published in the *North American Review* for April, 1901, made the following comment on the Platt amendment:

"Congress was compelled to consider the character and inexperience of Cuba's population; the history of the attempts of similar populations to govern themselves; the present condition of such experimental governments on the one hand, and the situation of the same populations, guided and restrained by the protection of an administrative people, on the other hand. Congress had to consider, too, the facts of the last two years—the expulsion of Spain from Cuba by American arms; the occupation of the island by American authority, law, and order; the feeding of starving Cuban thousands with American bread; the establishment of Cuban schools, posts, and sanitation upon modern methods by American administrators; the American purification of the Cuban customs service; the impartial American administration of Cuban justice; the protection of Cuban life and property by an American and Americanized police; the beginning of the development of the richest agricultural, mineral, and timber resources on the face of the globe, under the faith of American protection; in a word, the American foundation in Cuba of civilization and of that liberty regulated by law which is the end and purpose of all free government.

"Congress had to consider, too, the American people. The sacrifices of the American people in blood and treasure and administration deserved such consideration. The geographical position of Cuba demanded it. The historian of a century hence would have properly denounced any action on the part of the American Con-

gress which, by any possibility, might result in delivering this gateway to the American Mediterranean, to any and all isthmian canals, to the mouth of that great artery of American commerce, the Mississippi River, to our whole Gulf seaboard of 3,551 miles, over into the hands of those who, by treaty or purchase or any circumstances of peace or war, might possibly become our national foes.

"Thus it appears that our Cuban legislation deprives Cuba of nothing that can help her, but bestows every benefit and erects every safeguard necessary to her settled and orderly self-government. It insures the development of the island's resources and the highest happiness possible to its people. Against the enemies of Cuba, foreign and domestic, is drawn the sword of the great Republic; and under its protection the infant state may grow in peace and wax strong in a sure security. It is an inspiring scene with which the young century begins—the newest government of the world aided, guided, and protected by the freest.

"We are not depriving Cuba of liberty; we are helping her to liberty. Landowners are not to be robbed; they are to be protected. Cities are not to be sacked; they are to be defended. Equal rights are not to be violated; they are to be preserved and enforced. Free speech is not to be suppressed; it is to be fostered. Education is not to be destroyed; it is to be built up. But anarchy is to be kept down, foreign powers kept at bay, and the elements that oppose Cuban progress held in check. All this is not the denial of liberty; it is the bestowal of liberty; for liberty can not live without order and law.

"The Cuban people and the American people are not to be enemies or strangers. We are still more to be friends—'close friends,' to use the President's felicitous phrase. We are not yet united into a single nation as the fathers hoped we should be, and such a union may never occur; but, while establishing Cuba's independent governmental identity, the United States has given her our permanent counsel, aid, and comfort.

"Whether that relation shall develop into a still closer connection depends upon the Cuban people. It is a question which time alone can adequately answer. No wisdom equals the wisdom of events. And the Cuban legislation of Congress permits the wisdom of events to work out its results in its own time. Meanwhile the relation established by that legislation is admirable, considered from the view point of the present; and it may prove the permanent solution of this hitherto vexed and vexing problem. But whether this is the final development, or whether it is an epoch in an historical evolution, growing ever happier as it proceeds, the welfare of the Cuban people and the safety of the American people are *secure*."

ANARCHY.

A LAW TO PUNISH THOSE WHO ATTEMPT THE LIFE OF THE PRESIDENT.

The assassination of President McKinley by an anarchist caused an immediate agitation in favor of some Federal law that would enable the General Government to take charge of such crimes, and also prevent the propagation of anarchy in this country. President Roosevelt, in his first message to the Fifty-seventh Congress, vigorously discussed the question, and made strong recommendations. Congress acted on those recommendations.

President Roosevelt in his message to Congress December 3, 1901, said:

"On the 6th of September President McKinley was shot by an anarchist while attending the Pan-American Exposition, at Buffalo, and died in that city on the 14th of that month.

"Of the last seven elected Presidents he is the third who has been murdered, and the bare recital of this fact is sufficient to justify grave alarm among all loyal American citizens. Moreover, the circumstances of this, the third assassination of an American President, have a peculiarly sinister significance. Both President Lincoln and President Garfield were killed by assassins of types unfortunately not uncommon in history; President Lincoln falling a victim to the terrible passions aroused by four years of civil war, and President Garfield to the revengeful vanity of a disappointed office-seeker. President McKinley was killed by an utterly depraved criminal belonging to that body of criminals who objects to all governments, good and bad alike, who are against any form of popular liberty if it is guaranteed by even the most just and liberal laws, and who are as hostile to the upright exponent of a free people's sober will as to the tyrannical and irresponsible despot.

"It is not too much to say that at the time of President McKinley's death he was the most widely loved man in all the United States; while we have never had any public man of his position who has been so wholly free from the bitter animosities incident to public life. His political opponents were the first to bear the heartiest and most generous tribute to the broad kindliness of nature, the sweetness and gentleness of character which so endeared him to his close associates. To a standard of lofty integrity in

public life he united the tender affections and home virtues which are all-important in the make-up of national character. A gallant soldier in the great war for the Union, he also shone as an example to all our people because of his conduct in the most sacred and intimate of home relations. There could be no personal hatred of him, for he never acted with aught but consideration for the welfare of others. No one could fail to respect him who knew him in public or private life. The defenders of those murderous criminals who seek to excuse their criminality by asserting that it is exercised for political ends, inveigh against wealth and irresponsible power. But for this assassination even this base apology can not be urged.

A Blow at Labor.—"President McKinley was a man of moderate means, a man whose stock sprang from the sturdy tillers of the soil, who had himself belonged among the wage-workers, who had entered the Army as a private soldier. Wealth was not struck at when the President was assassinated, but the honest toil which is content with moderate gains after a lifetime of unremitting labor, largely in the service of the public. Still less was power struck at in the sense that power is irresponsible or centered in the hands of any one individual. The blow was not aimed at tyranny or wealth. It was aimed at one of the strongest champions the wage-worker has ever had; at one of the most faithful representatives of the system of public rights and representative government who has ever risen to public office. President McKinley filled that political office for which the entire people vote, and no President—not even Lincoln himself—was ever more earnestly anxious to represent the well thought-out wishes of the people; his one anxiety in every crisis was to keep in closest touch with the people—to find out what they thought and to endeavor to give expression to their thought, after having endeavored to guide that thought aright. He had just been reelected to the Presidency because the majority of our citizens, the majority of our farmers and wage-workers, believed that he had faithfully upheld their interests for four years. They felt themselves in close and intimate touch with him. They felt that he represented so well and so honorably all their ideals and aspirations that they wished him to continue for another four years to represent them.

Judas-like Infamy.—"And this was the man at whom the assassin struck! That there might be nothing lacking to complete the Judas-like infamy of his act, he took advantage of an occasion when the President was meeting the people generally; and advancing as if to take the hand outstretched to him in kindly and brotherly fellowship, he turned the noble and generous confidence

of the victim into an opportunity to strike the fatal blow. There is no baser deed in all the annals of crime.

"The shock, the grief of the country are bitter in the minds of all who saw the dark days while the President yet hovered between life and death. At last the light was stilled in the kindly eyes and the breath went from the lips that even in mortal agony uttered no words save of forgiveness to his murderer, of love for his friends, and of unfaltering trust in the will of the Most High. Such a death, crowning the glory of such a life, leaves us with infinite sorrow, but with such pride in what he had accomplished and in his own personal character, that we feel the blow not as struck at him, but as struck at the nation. We mourn a good and great President who is dead; but while we mourn we are lifted up by the splendid achievements of his life and the grand heroism with which he met his death.

"When we turn from the man to the nation, the harm done is so great as to excite our gravest apprehensions and to demand our wisest and most resolute action. This criminal was a professed anarchist, inflamed by the teachings of professed anarchists, and probably also by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in the public press, appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred. The wind is sowed by the men who preach such doctrines, and they can not escape their share of responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped. This applies alike to the deliberate demagogue, to the exploiter of sensationalism, and to the crude and foolish visionary who, for whatever reason, apologizes for crime or excites aimless discontent.

Aimed at Government.—"The blow was aimed not at this President, but at all Presidents; at every symbol of government. President McKinley was as emphatically the embodiment of the popular will of the nation, expressed through the forms of law, as a New England town meeting is in similar fashion the embodiment of the law-abiding purpose and practice of the people of the town. On no conceivable theory could the murder of the President be accepted as due to protest against 'inequalities in the social order,' save as the murder of all the freemen engaged in a town meeting could be accepted as a protest against that social inequality which puts a malefactor in jail. Anarchy is no more an expression of 'social discontent' than picking pockets or wife-beating.

"The anarchist, and especially the anarchist in the United States, is merely one type of criminal more dangerous than any other, because he represents the same depravity in a greater degree. The man who advocates anarchy, directly or indirectly, in any shape or fashion, or the man who apologizes for anarchists and their deeds,

makes himself morally accessory to murder before the fact. The anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficent form of social order. His protest of concern for workingmen is outrageous in its impudent falsity; for if the political institutions of this country do not afford opportunity to every honest and intelligent son of toil, then the door of hope is forever closed against him. The anarchist is everywhere not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last for but one red moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism.

"For the anarchist himself, whether he preaches or practices his doctrines, we need not have one particle more concern than for any ordinary murderer. He is not the victim of social or political injustice. There are no wrongs to remedy in his case. The cause of his criminality is to be found in his own evil passions and in the evil conduct of those who urge him on, not in any failure by others or by the State to do justice to him or his. He is a malefactor and nothing else. He is in no sense, in no shape or way, a 'product of social conditions,' save as a highwayman is 'produced' by the fact that an unarmed man happens to have a purse. It is a travesty upon the great and holy names of liberty and freedom to permit them to be invoked in such a cause. No man or body of men preaching anarchistic doctrines should be allowed at large any more than if preaching the murder of some specified private individual. Anarchistic speeches, writings, and meetings are essentially seditious and treasonable.

Recommendations to Congress.—"I earnestly recommend to the Congress that in the exercise of its wise discretion it should take into consideration the coming to this country of anarchists or persons professing principles hostile to all government and justifying the murder of those placed in authority. Such individuals as those who not long ago gathered in open meeting to glorify the murder of King Humbert of Italy perpetrate a crime and the law should insure their rigorous punishment. They and those like them should be kept out of this country; and if found here they should be promptly deported to the country whence they came; and far-reaching provision should be made for the punishment of those who stay. No matter calls more urgently for the wisest thought of the Congress.

"The Federal courts should be given jurisdiction over any man who kills or attempts to kill the President or any man who, by the Constitution or by law, is in line of succession for the Presidency, while the punishment for an unsuccessful attempt should be *proportioned to the enormity of the offense against our institutions.*

"Anarchy is a crime against the whole human race; and all mankind should band against the anarchist. His crime should be made an offense against the law of nations, like piracy and that form of manstealing known as the slave trade; for it is of far blacker infamy than either. It should be so declared by treaties among all civilized powers. Such treaties would give to the Federal Government the power of dealing with the crime.

"A grim commentary upon the folly of the anarchist position was afforded by the attitude of the law toward this very criminal who had just taken the life of the President. The people would have torn him limb from limb if it had not been that the law he defied was at once invoked in his behalf. So far from his deed being committed on behalf of the people against the Government, the Government was obliged at once to exert its full police power to save him from instant death at the hands of the people. Moreover, his deed worked not the slightest dislocation in our governmental system, and the danger of a recurrence of such deeds, no matter how great it might grow, would work only in the direction of strengthening and giving harshness to the forces of order. No man will ever be restrained from becoming President by any fear as to his personal safety. If the risk to the President's life became great, it would mean that the office would more and more come to be filled by men of a spirit which would make them resolute and merciless in dealing with every friend of disorder. This great country will not fall into anarchy, and if anarchists should ever become a serious menace to its institutions, they would not merely be stamped out, but would involve in their own ruin every active or passive sympathizer with their doctrines. The American people are slow to wrath, but when their wrath is once kindled it burns like a consuming flame.

"Congress took up the President's recommendations and the Committee on Judiciary of the House, after considering many bills that had been introduced, reported a committee bill designed to punish those who attempt the life of the President. That bill passed the House, was amended, and passed by the Senate late in the session. It failed to go to the President for his signature before Congress adjourned because of the absence of Senator Hoar and of the conferees on the part of the Senate. The agreement will be reached by the conferees when Congress meets in December, and the bill will become a law in fact and name as it now is as far as the action of the Senate and House can make it until the conferees agree upon the exact phraseology of one or two sections.

What the Bill Provides.—"This bill provides for the punishment:

¹ *Of those who unlawfully, purposely, and knowingly kill or*

attempt to kill the President or the Vice-President or any officer of the United States entitled by law to succeed to the Presidency, or any ambassador or minister of a foreign government accredited to the United States and being therein, or who assaults either of these officers, except such foreign ambassadors and ministers, with intent to inflict great bodily harm, when he is engaged in the performance of his official duties, or because of his official character, or because of an official act or omission, when such crime is committed within any State or other place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. (Secs. 1-5.)

"(2.) Of accessories to such crimes before and after the fact, and those who "openly, wilfully, and deliberately justify" such killing or assaulting of either of such officers with intent to cause a repetition of the commission or the commission of either of such crimes. (Secs. 6-8.)

"(3.) Of those who advocate, advise, or teach, generally or specifically, the duty, necessity, or propriety of killing or assaulting one or more of the officers of the Government of the United States or of the Government of any civilized nation because of his or their official character, or who conspire within the United States, or request, advise, or encourage another to assault or kill anywhere the chief ruler of any civilized nation having an organized government, because of his official character. (Secs. 8, 9.)

"This bill then provides that all persons who disbelieve in or are opposed to all organized government, or who belong to any organization entertaining and teaching such doctrines, or who advocate or teach the duty, necessity, or propriety of committing any of the crimes mentioned, or who have committed any of them, shall be denied admission into the United States or refused naturalization if already here. (Secs. 1, 12.)

"The bill punishes those who aid such persons to enter or to secure naturalization, or who commit perjury in naturalization proceedings, and provides for the making and recording of an affidavit by the applicant for naturalization, reciting and affirming the truth of every fact requisite for naturalization.

"The Committee on Judiciary of the House in reporting the bill said that the Constitutional power of Congress to enact the proposed law could not be questioned. Congress had been slow to use its Constitutional power in enacting laws for the prevention of resistance to, and for the protection of, the officers of the General Government. It has acted only as the necessity demanded. Necessity demanded a law for the punishment of men who attempted the life of the Government through assault upon the life of the President."

McKINLEY'S LAST SPEECH.

THE MARTYR PRESIDENT'S LAST MESSAGE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

President William McKinley's speech, delivered at Buffalo on Thursday, September 5, 1901, the day before he was shot, is regarded by political students as a clear-cut and comprehensive declaration of the national estimate of the new responsibilities imposed by the Spanish war. When it was delivered it appealed at once to the public as an utterance of unusual wisdom. In the light of what has followed it has become a precious political legacy.

President McKinley said:

"I am glad to be again in the city of Buffalo and exchange greetings with her people, to whose generous hospitality I am not a stranger, and with whose good will I have been repeatedly and signally honored. To-day I have additional satisfaction in meeting and giving welcome to the foreign representatives assembled here, whose presence and participation in this exposition have contributed in so marked a degree to its interests and success.

"To the commissioners of the Dominion of Canada and the British colonies, the French colonies, the Republics of Mexico and of Central and South America, and the commissioners of Cuba and Porto Rico, who share with us in this undertaking, we give the hand of fellowship and felicitate with them upon the triumphs of art, science, education, and manufacture which the old has bequeathed to the new century.

"Expositions are the timekeeping of progress. They record the world's advancement. They stimulate the energy, enterprise, and intellect of the people and quicken human genius. They go into the home. They broaden and brighten the daily life of the people. They open mighty storehouses of information to the student.

"Every exposition, great or small, has helped to some onward step. Comparison of ideas is always educational, and as such instructs the brain and hand of man. Friendly rivalry follows, which is the spur to industrial improvement, the inspiration to useful invention, and to high endeavor in all departments of human activity. It exacts a study of the wants, comforts, and even the whims of the people and recognizes the efficacy of high quality and new prices to win their favor.

"The quest for trade is an incentive to men of business to devise, invent, improve, and economize in the cost of production. Business

life, whether among ourselves or with other people, is ever a sharp struggle for success. It will be none the less so in the future. Without competition we would be clinging to the clumsy and antiquated process of farming and manufacture and the methods of business of long ago, and the twentieth would be no further advanced than the eighteenth century. But though commercial competitors we are, commercial enemies we must not be.

"The Pan-American Exposition has done its work thoroughly, presenting in its exhibits evidences of the highest skill and illustrating the progress of the human family in the Western Hemisphere. This portion of the earth has no cause for humiliation for the part it has performed in the march of civilization. It has not accomplished everything; far from it. It has simply done its best, and without vanity or boastfulness, and, recognizing the manifold achievements of others, it invites the friendly rivalry of all the powers in the peaceful pursuits of trade and commerce, and will cooperate with all in advancing the highest and best interests of humanity. The wisdom and energy of all the nations are none too great for the world's work. The success of art, science, industry, and inventions is an international asset and a common glory.

"After all, how near one to the other is every part of the world! Modern inventions have brought into close relation widely separated peoples and made them better acquainted. Geographic and political divisions will continue to exist, but distances have been effaced. Swift ships and fast trains are becoming cosmopolitan. They invade fields which a few years ago were impenetrable. The world's products are changed as never before, and with increasing transportation facilities come increasing knowledge and trade. Prices are fixed with mathematical precision by supply and demand. The world's selling prices are regulated by market and crop reports. We travel greater distances in a shorter space of time and with more ease than was ever dreamed of by the fathers.

Isolation no Longer Possible.—"Isolation is no longer possible or desirable. The same important news is read, though in different languages, the same day in all Christendom. The telegraph keeps us advised of what is occurring everywhere, and the press foreshadows, with more or less accuracy, the plans and purposes of the nations. Market prices of products and of securities are hourly known in every commercial mart, and the investments of the people extend beyond their own national boundaries into the remotest parts of the earth.

"Vast transactions are conducted and international exchanges are made by the tick of the cable. Every event of interest is immediately bulletined. The quick gathering and transmission of

news, like rapid transit, are of recent origin, and are only made possible by the genius of the inventor and the courage of the investor.

"It took a special messenger of the Government with every facility known at the time for rapid transit nineteen days to go from the city of Washington to New Orleans with a message to General Jackson that the war with England had ceased and a treaty of peace had been signed. How different now.

"We reached General Miles in Porto Rico by cable, and he was able through the military telegraph to stop his army on the firing line with the message that the United States and Spain had signed a protocol suspending hostilities. We knew almost instantly of the first shot fired at Santiago, and the subsequent surrender of the Spanish forces was known at Washington within less than an hour of its consummation. The first ship of Cervera's fleet was hardly emerged from that historic harbor when the fact was flashed to our capital, and the swift destruction that followed was announced immediately through the wonderful medium of telegraphy.

"So accustomed are we to safe and easy communication with distant lands that its temporary interruption even in ordinary times results in loss and inconveniences. We shall never forget the days of anxious waiting and awful suspense when no information was permitted to be sent from Pekin and the diplomatic representatives of the nations in China, cut off from all communication inside and outside of the walled capital, were surrounded by an angry and misguided mob that threatened their lives; nor the joy that thrilled the world with a single message from the Government of the United States, brought through our minister, the first news of the safety of the besieged diplomats.

"At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was not a mile of steam railroad on the globe. Now there are enough miles to make its circuit many times. Then there was not a line of electric telegraph; now we have a vast mileage traversing all lands and all seas. God and man have linked the nation together. No nation can longer be indifferent to any other. And as we are brought more and more in touch with each other the less occasion is there for misunderstanding and the stronger the disposition when we have differences to adjust them in the court of arbitration, which is the noblest forum for the settlement of international disputes.

Nation's Unexampled Prosperity.—"My fellow-citizens, trade statistics indicate that this country is in a state of unexampled prosperity. The figures are almost appalling. They show that we *are utilizing* our fields and forests and mines, and that we are tur-

nishing profitable employment to the millions of workingmen throughout the United States, bringing comfort and happiness to their homes, and making it possible to lay by savings for old age and disability.

"That all the people are participating in this great prosperity is seen in every American community and shown by the enormous and unprecedented deposits in our savings banks. Our duty is the care and security of these deposits, and their safe investment demands the highest integrity and the best business capacity of those in charge of these depositories of the people's earnings.

"We have a vast and intricate business built up through years of toil and struggle, in which every part of the country has its stake, which will not permit of either neglect or of undue selfishness. No narrow, sordid policy will subserve it. The greatest skill and wisdom on the part of the manufacturers and producers will be required to hold and increase it.

"Our industrial enterprises, which have grown to such great proportions, affect the homes and occupations of the people and the welfare of the country. Our capacity to produce has developed so enormously and our products have so multiplied that the problem of more markets requires our urgent and immediate attention.

"Only a broad and enlightened policy will keep what we have. No other policy will get more. In these times of marvelous business energy and gain we ought to be looking to the future, strengthening the weak places in our industrial and commercial systems that we may be ready for any storm or strain.

"By sensible trade arrangements which will not interrupt our home production we shall extend the outlets for our increasing surplus.

"A system which provides a mutual exchange of commodities is manifestly essential to the continued healthful growth of our export trade. We must not repose in fancied security that we can forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. If such a thing were possible it would not be best for us or for those with whom we deal. We should take from our customers such of their products as we can use without harm to our industries and labor.

Demand for Reciprocity.—"Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established. What we produce beyond our domestic consumption must have a vent abroad. The excess must be relieved through a foreign outlet, and we should sell everywhere we can, and buy wherever the buying will enlarge our sales and productions, and thereby make a greater demand for home labor.

"The period of exclusiveness is past. The expansion of our trade

and commerce is the pressing problem. Commercial wars are unprofitable. A policy of good will and friendly trade relations will prevent reprisals. Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not.

"If, perchance, some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad?

"Then, too, we have inadequate steamship service. New lines of steamers have already been put in commission between the Pacific coast ports of the United States and those on the western coast of Mexico and Central and South America. These should be followed up with direct steamship lines between the eastern coast of the United States and South American ports.

"One of the needs of the times is direct commercial lines from our vast fields of production to the fields of consumption that we have but barely touched. Next in advantage to having the thing to sell is to have the convenience to carry it to the buyer.

"We must encourage our merchant marine. We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag, built and manned and owned by Americans. These will not only be profitable in a commercial sense; they will be messengers of peace and amity wherever they go.

Must Build Isthmian Canal.—"We must build the isthmian canal, which will unite the two oceans and give a straight line of water communication with the western coast of Central and South America and Mexico. The construction of a Pacific cable can not be longer postponed.

"In the furtherance of these objects of national interest and concern you are performing an important part. This exposition would have touched the heart of that American statesman whose mind was ever alert and thought ever constant for a larger commerce and a truer fraternity of the Republics of the new world. His broad American spirit is felt and manifested here. He needs no identification to an assembly of Americans anywhere, for the name of Blaine is inseparably associated with the Pan-American movement which finds this practical and substantial expression, and which we all hope will be firmly advanced by the Pan-American congress that assembles this autumn in the capital of Mexico.

"The good work will go on. It can not be stopped. These buildings will disappear, this creation of art and beauty and industry will perish from sight, but their influence will remain to

"Make it live beyond its too short living
With praises and thanksgiving."

"Who can tell the new thoughts that have been awakened, the ambitions fired, and the high achievements that will be wrought through the exposition? Gentlemen, let us ever remember that our interest is in concord, not conflict, and that our real eminence rests in the victories of peace, not those of war. We hope that all who are represented here may be moved to higher and nobler effort for their own and the world's good, and that out of this city may come not only greater commerce and trade for us all, but more essential than these, relations of mutual respect, confidence, and friendship, which will deepen and endure.

"Our earnest prayer is that God will graciously vouchsafe prosperity, happiness, and peace to all our neighbors and like blessings to all the peoples and powers of earth."

Free trade is the voice of interest and selfishness in principle; protection is the voice of intelligent labor and development.—Hon. William McKinley, in House of Representatives, April 6, 1882.

Free trade results in giving our money, our manufactures, and our markets to other nations; protection keeps money, markets, and manufactures at home.—Major McKinley, at Beatrice, Nebr., August 2, 1892.

Protection has vindicated itself. It can not be helped by eulogy or hurt by defamation; it has worked its own demonstration and presents in the sight of the whole world its matchless trophies.—Major McKinley, at Beatrice, Nebr., August 2, 1892.

So much for our duties, each to himself and each to his neighbor, within the limits of our own country. But our country, as it strides forward with ever-increasing rapidity to a foremost place among the world powers, must necessarily find, more and more, that it has world duties also. There are excellent people who believe that we can shirk these duties and yet retain our self-respect; but these good people are in error.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

Without the habit of orderly obedience to the law, without the stern enforcement of the laws at the expense of those who defiantly resist them, there can be no possible progress, moral or material, in civilization. There can be no weakening of the law-abiding spirit at home if we are permanently to succeed; and just as little can we afford to show weakness abroad. Lawlessness and anarchy were put down in the Philippines as a prerequisite to inducing the reign of justice.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE.

REPUBLICAN EFFORTS TO REVIVE IT REVIEWED.

Recommendations of the Presidents.—For twenty years every Republican President has earnestly recommended legislation to encourage the American merchant marine in foreign trade—the only American industry which has not thus far had the benefit of effective Republican legislation. (The domestic or coasting trade has been reserved for American vessels almost from the beginning of government.)

President Arthur of New York, in his annual message, December 4, 1882, said:

“The Secretary of the Navy forcibly depicts the intimate connection and interdependence of the Navy and the commercial marine, and invites attention to the continued decadence of the latter, and the corresponding transfer of our growing commerce to foreign bottoms. This subject is one of the utmost importance to the national welfare. Methods of reviving American shipbuilding and restoring the United States flag in the ocean-carrying trade should receive the immediate attention of Congress. We have mechanical skill and abundant material for the manufacture of modern iron steamships in fair competition with our commercial rivals. Our disadvantage in building ships is the greater cost of labor, and in sailing them higher taxes and greater interest on capital, while the ocean highways are already monopolized by our formidable competitors. These obstacles should, in some way, be overcome, and for our rapid communication with foreign lands we should not continue to depend wholly upon vessels built in the yards of other countries and sailing under foreign flags.”

President Harrison of Indiana, in his annual message, December 3, 1889, said:

“There is nothing more justly humiliating to the national pride and nothing more hurtful to the national prosperity than the inferiority of our merchant marine compared with that of other nations, whose general resources, wealth, and seacoast lines do not suggest any reason for their supremacy on the sea. It was not always so, and our people are agreed, I think, that it shall not continue to be so. * * * That the great steamship lines sailing under the flags of England, France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, and engaged in foreign commerce, were promoted and have since been

and now are liberally aided by grants of public money in one form or another, is generally known. That the American lines of steamships have been abandoned by us to an unequal contest with the aided lines of other nations until they have been withdrawn, or in the few cases where they are still maintained, are subject to serious disadvantages, is matter of common knowledge.

* * * * *

"I recommend that such appropriations be made for ocean mail service in American steamships between our ports and those of Central and South America, China, Japan, and the important islands in both of the great oceans as will be liberally remunerative for the service rendered, and as will encourage the establishment, and in some fair degree equalize the chances of American steamship lines in the competition which they must meet. That the American States lying south of us will cordially cooperate in establishing and maintaining such lines of steamships to their principal ports I do not doubt.

* * * * *

"I am an advocate of economy in our national expenditures, but it is a misuse of terms to make this word describe a policy that withholds an expenditure for the purpose of extending our foreign commerce. The enlargement and improvement of our merchant marine, the development of a sufficient body of trained American seamen, the promotion of rapid and regular mail communication between the ports of other countries and our own, and the adaptation of large and swift American merchant steamships to naval uses in time of war are public purposes of the highest concern. The enlarged participation of our people in the carrying trade, the new and increased markets that will be opened for the products of our farms and factories, and the fuller and better employment of our mechanics which will result from a liberal promotion of our foreign commerce insure the widest possible diffusion of benefit to all the States and to all our people."

President McKinley of Ohio, in his annual message, December 5, 1899, said:

"The value of an American merchant marine to the extension of our commercial trade and the strengthening of our power upon the sea invites the immediate action of the Congress. Our national development will be one-sided and unsatisfactory so long as the remarkable growth of our inland industries remain unaccompanied by progress on the seas. There is no lack of constitutional authority for legislation which shall give to the country maritime strength commensurate with its industrial achievements and with its rank among the nations of the earth.

* * * * *

"Last year American vessels transported a smaller share of our exports and imports than during any former year in all our history, and the measure of our dependence upon foreign shipping was painfully manifested to our people. Without any choice of our own, but from necessity, the Departments of the Government charged with military and naval operations in the East and West Indies had to obtain from foreign flags merchant vessels essential for those operations.

"The other great nations have not hesitated to adopt the required means to develop their shipping as a factor in national defense, and as one of the surest and speediest means of obtaining for their producers a share in foreign markets. Like vigilance and effort on our part can not fail to improve our situation, which is regarded with humiliation at home and with surprise abroad. Even the seeming sacrifices, which at the beginning may be involved, will be offset later by more than equivalent gains.

"The expense is as nothing compared to the advantage to be achieved. The reestablishment of our merchant marine involves, in a large measure, our continued industrial progress and the extension of our commercial triumphs. I am satisfied the judgment of the country favors the policy of aid to our merchant marine, which will broaden our commerce and markets and upbuild our sea-carrying capacity for the products of agriculture and manufacture; which, with the increase of our Navy, mean more work and wages to our countrymen, as well as a safeguard to American interests in every part of the world."

In his last speech at Buffalo, on September 8, 1901, President McKinley said:

"One of the needs of the times are direct commercial lines from our vast fields of production to the fields of consumption that we have but barely touched. Next in advantage to having the thing to sell is to have the conveyance to carry it to the buyer. We must encourage our merchant marine. We must have more ships. They must be under the American flag, built and manned and owned by Americans. These will not only be profitable in a commercial sense; they will be messengers of peace and amity wherever they go."

President Roosevelt of New York, in his annual message, December 3, 1901, said:

"The condition of the American merchant marine is such as to call for immediate remedial action by the Congress. It is discreditable to us as a nation that our merchant marine should be utterly insignificant in comparison to that of other nations which we overtop in other forms of business. We should not longer submit to conditions under which only a trifling portion of our great com-

merce is carried in our own ships. To remedy this state of things would not merely serve to build up our shipping interests, but it would also result in benefit to all who are interested in the permanent establishment of a wider market for American products, and would provide an auxiliary force for the Navy. Ships work for their own countries, just as railroads work for their terminal points. Shipping lines, if established to the principal countries with which we have dealings, would be of political as well as commercial benefit. From every standpoint it is unwise for the United States to continue to rely upon the ships of competing nations for the distribution of our goods. It should be made advantageous to carry American goods in American-built ships.

"At present American shipping is under certain great disadvantages when put in competition with the shipping of foreign countries. Many of the fast foreign steamships at a speed of 14 knots or above are subsidized, and all our ships—sailing vessels and steamers alike, cargo-carriers of slow speed and mail carriers of high speed—have to meet the fact that the original cost of building American ships is greater than is the case abroad; that the wages paid American officers and seamen are very much higher than those paid the officers and seamen of foreign competing countries, and that the standard of living on our ships is far superior to the standard of living on the ships of our commercial rivals.

"Our Government should take such action as will remedy these inequalities. The American merchant marine should be restored to the ocean."

Decline in the Carrying Trade.—The following table shows for the year of each President's message quoted: First. The decline in the percentage of exports and imports carried by American vessels; second, the decline in American tonnage in foreign trade; third, the increase in American tonnage in the protected coasting trade:

Year.	Foreign trade.			Domestic trade, tonnage.
	Percentage.	Vessels.	Tonnage.	
1882	15.8	2,039	1,259,492	2,795,776
1890	14.3	1,593	992,019	3,211,415
1899	8.9	1,283	837,229	3,965,313
1901	8.2	1,286	879,395	4,582,645

England, France, Germany, Spain, Italy, and other nations are still aiding their great steamship lines. The following table shows

the mail subsidies, the general bounties, and the total, \$27,670,100 paid by the principal European nations and Japan during 1900-1901:

Country.	Mail.	General.	Total.
Austria-Hungary.....	\$1,288,201	\$656,270	\$1,944,471
Denmark.....	82,455		82,455
France.....	5,019,703	3,623,720	8,643,423
Germany.....	1,825,651		1,825,651
Great Britain.....	4,874,248	662,369	5,536,612
Italy.....	1,757,812	1,061,689	2,819,451
Japan.....	2,865,881	76,465	2,942,296
Netherlands.....	367,468		367,468
Norway.....	48,338	89,218	137,556
Portugal.....	63,300		63,300
Russia.....		1,595,701	1,595,701
Spain.....	1,629,927		1,629,927
Sweden.....	81,849		81,849
Total.....	19,904,778	7,765,282	27,670,100

The ocean mails of England, France, and Germany are carried almost exclusively in their own fast mail steamers, which are auxiliary cruisers of their respective navies, manned by naval reserves.

Purpose of the Ship Subsidy Bill.—The purpose of the ship subsidy bill (Senate bill 1348) passed by the Senate, and its results, if enacted, will be within ten years to establish the maritime supremacy of the United States in the trade on the Pacific with Asia and the Philippines, and on the Atlantic in the trade of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea; to establish on a secure basis the trade between the United States and the Republics of South America, and to give the United States a respectable representation in the trade of the North Atlantic. Incidentally it will give to the United States an auxiliary navy second only to Great Britain's; an ocean mail service superior to that of Great Britain, France, or Germany in all respects—except for a few years more possibly the service between New York and England and the North Sea ports. It will so extend shipbuilding as to transfer in time, certainly from Germany, and possibly from Great Britain, to the United States, the center of that industry as the centers of other industries recently have been transferred. Finally, it will give to the United States a measure of maritime independence corresponding to our industrial and agricultural independence. This object and these results are perfectly well understood abroad and afford the reason why the measure is regarded with undisguised apprehension and hostility by the shipping interests of Europe.

General Provisions of the Bill.—The ship subsidy bill is divided into three parts: I. Ocean mail steamers; II. General subsidy; III. Deep-sea fisheries.

I. *Ocean mail steamers.*—In 1891 Congress passed and President Harrison approved an act to establish an American ocean mail system similar to that of foreign nations. Ten years' experience have shown the success of the bill in some respects; its failures in others. That act gave us four fast auxiliary cruisers, which were of great service in the war with Spain—the *Harvard*, *Fale*, *St. Louis*, and *St. Paul*, of the American line. Under the act of 1891 American mail lines to Brazil, Argentina, China, and Japan were attempted, but soon abandoned, as British mail lines had nearly equal or higher subsidies, cheaper crews, and cheaper steamers, so competition was impracticable. The subsidy bill corrects the miscalculations in the act of 1891. It increases mail pay where experience has shown higher pay is necessary to establish and maintain American lines, and reduces it where the rates of 1891 are not now needed. It does not increase pay to existing steamers under existing contracts, which must be fulfilled to expiration in 1905, 1909, 1910, and 1912. Its object is the establishment of new ocean mail routes or expansion of existing routes just as the mail service ashore is increased. Favoritism is impossible, as mail contracts are awarded to the lowest responsible bidder. Before the bill costs the Government a dollar new mail steamers must be built in American yards, involving the expenditure of millions for American labor in shipyards, and in other manufacturing, mining, and lumber industries, which contribute toward the building of a ship.

When in full operation about four years hence the American ocean mail system proposed will equal or surpass the British ocean mail system, and at not much greater cost. Following are the details of the two systems:

American (Proposed).		British (In Operation).	
ATLANTIC OCEAN.		ATLANTIC OCEAN.	
1. Semiweekly to Jamaica...	\$123,569	1. Semiweekly to New York.	\$488,328
2. Semiweekly to Habana...	208,580	2. Weekly to South Africa...	456,840
3. Weekly to Mexico.....		3. Fortnightly to West Indies and South America.....	888,800
4. Semiweekly to Southampton.....	1,713,868	4. Fortnightly to Brazil.....	41,821
5. Once in 10 days to Venezuela.....	81,288	5. Fortnightly to Chile.....	85,444
6. Fortnightly to Brazil.....	248,100	6. Daily Dover-Calais.....	121,500
Atlantic total.....	2,865,400	Atlantic total.....	1,582,528
PACIFIC OCEAN.		PACIFIC OCEAN.	
7. Weekly to Manila.....	\$1,901,952	7. Weekly to Australia.....	\$826,200
8. Weekly to Japan, China, Hongkong.....		8. Weekly to British India...	1,287,900
9. Weekly to Hawaii.....	438,000	9. Fortnightly to Hongkong and Shanghai.....	
10. Fortnightly to Pago Pago		10. Once in 3 weeks, Canada-Hongkong.....	291,000
11. Fortnightly to Australia..		Pacific total.....	2,405,700
Pacific total.....	2,334,952	Admiralty subventions..	200,718
Grand total.....	4,700,352	Grand total.....	4,188,248

Foreign Lines Control Atlantic Trade.—Foreign steamship lines have acquired almost absolute control of the Atlantic trade. The Pacific trade is not yet developed, and foreign steamers from Europe pay Suez Canal tolls. These facts are considered in proposed American expenditures.

The expense is partly offset by receipts from ocean postage. At present the American system is conducted mainly with foreign auxiliary cruisers at a profit of about \$900,000 annually; the British at a loss of about \$2,000,000. By her expenditure on British steamers only, England has secured a fleet of fifty fast auxiliary cruisers. By the expenditure proposed, the United States, instead of paying \$575,000 to foreign auxiliary cruisers, will secure a fleet of forty-two American auxiliary cruisers at a net loss to the revenues of only about \$1,800,000.

II. *General subsidy.*—The second title of the bill places American shipping in foreign trade on terms of equality in competition with British and German shipping.

Ocean steamers are built more cheaply in Great Britain than in the United States. The Boston Steamship Company (Alfred Winsor, of Boston, president), in 1900, built two cargo vessels, for which bids were tendered by American and British builders. The Atlantic Transport Company (B. N. Baker, of Baltimore, president), is now building six steamers in the United States from plans similar to those of its steamers recently built or building at Belfast, Ireland. The eight steamers range in speed from 10 to 16 knots, and in size from 3,750 gross tons to about 13,000 gross tons, aggregating 70,000 gross tons. The price of the eight American-built steamers will be \$7,169,000; the price of the eight corresponding British-built steamers, \$5,307,440. The average price per gross ton of the American-built steamers is thus \$102.40, and of the British-built steamers \$75.80, a difference in first cost of \$26.60 per gross registered ton.

The principal reason, in addition to higher wages of labor, for the higher cost of American-built than British-built ocean steamers was thus explained to the Society of Naval Architects and Marine Engineers by Mr. Lewis Nixon, the shipbuilder, recently leader of Tammany Hall, and member of the Democratic Advisory Campaign Committee:

"When we are in such a position that we can build several hundred merchant ships a year we will then have the demand which will enable us to so arrange the building of merchant ships that we can build with reasonable economy, and I have no doubt in the world that by that time we shall be able, not only to meet the price of the foreigner, but to come under it. * * * Until we have that demand, and we can not get it without appropriate legislation,

it is absolutely impossible to build merchant ships here as cheaply as they can be built abroad.

Extension of Foreign Shipping.—In 1900 Great Britain built three hundred and forty ocean steamers of 1,327,979 tons; at the beginning of 1901 Germany was building eighty-nine ocean steamers of 411,389 tons, while during the fiscal year 1901, the United States built only nineteen ocean steamers, of 82,799 tons, chiefly for the protected coasting trade.

The wages paid on American steamers are much higher than on British steamers, and double those on German steamers. Based on an examination of the monthly pay rolls of twenty ocean steamers in foreign trade, ranging from small cargo steamers to the highest types of trans-Atlantic mail steamers, the total monthly pay roll of 1,508 men of all ratings on American steamers is \$56,116; of 1,504 men on British steamers is \$39,202, and of 1,507 men on German and Scandinavian steamers is \$27,047. The average monthly pay is thus: American, \$37.21; British, \$26.07; German and Scandinavian, \$17.95.

The following table shows the gross tonnage, length in feet, indicated horsepower (I. H. P.) total crew, and total monthly pay roll (taken from the written contract) of three of the best known trans-Atlantic mail steamers:

Vessels.	Gross.	Length.	I. H. P.	Crew.	Wages.
St. Louis (American)	11,629	535	26,700	380	\$11,806
Oceanic (British)	17,274	685	28,000	427	9,891
Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse (German) ...	14,349	627	30,000	500	7,716

Not a Naked Bounty.—The general subsidy proposed by the shipping bill—one cent per gross ton per 100 nautical miles—is carefully calculated to offset the difference in the cost of building ships in the United States and Great Britain and the difference in wages on American and foreign vessels. This subsidy is not a naked bounty. It is payable only on condition that the shipowners perform specific services for the Government.

1st. "The owner of any vessel before receiving compensation pursuant to this title, shall agree in writing that said vessel may be taken or employed and used by the United States for the national defense or for any public purpose at any time" at a fair valuation. (Section 11.)

2d. The vessels must carry United States mails free of charge whenever required to do so. (Section 9.)

3d. The owner must carry and train in seamanship a certain percentage of American boys on each voyage. (Section 10.)

4th. At least one-fourth of the crew must be Americans. (Section 7.)

5th. The vessel can not be sold to a foreigner except by consent of the Secretary of the Treasury. (Section 14.)

6th. The vessel must be insurable as an A1 vessel.

If all the American vessels in foreign trade in 1900 had complied with all these requirements, the total new expenditure computed by actual voyages and divided according to oceans would have been:

	Atlantic.			Pacific.		
	Num-ber.	Gross tons.	Subsidy.	Num-ber.	Gross tons.	Subsidy.
Steam.....	62	111,049	\$239,692	67	182,059	\$299,006
Sail:						
Square rigged.....	97	63,227	85,607	125	156,222	180,098
Schooners.....	537	231,298	98,488	98	47,495	38,028
Total	606	408,574	443,782	290	385,676	467,072
Square-rigged ships:						
Atlantic and Pacific.....				45	77,838	161,241
Grand total.....				1,081	822,188	1,072,096

The mail pay received by these vessels was \$213,000, which must be surrendered for the subsidy. Compliance with other conditions would have fixed actual new expenditures for the current year at about \$650,000. Yet it has been charged that the bill involves \$9,000,000 a year!

An addition in one year of 40,000 tons of sail vessels to our fleet in foreign trade, involving subsidies of \$100,000, would be phenomenal. The completion in one year of 200,000 tons of ocean steamers, exclusively for the foreign trade (omitting mail steamers provided for in Title I), involving subsidies of \$1,300,000, would put the United States as a shipbuilding nation in advance of Germany. It would mean almost continuous work on about 400,000 tons of steel steamers for foreign trade, and the output of about \$20,000,000 in wages paid in shipyards for about two years to American labor, which has thus far had only small opportunity to build steamers to compete for the world's carrying trade.

Deep-Sea Fisheries.—Washington, in 1792, signed a bill to give bounties to American deep-sea fisheries, and these bounties were continued until beyond the time of Lincoln—in 1866, with a brief intermission from 1807 to 1813. Jefferson and the fathers of Democracy approved such bounties. In 1878, by the Halifax award, the United States was required to pay to England \$5,500,000 for alleged damages by American fishermen visiting British North America for bait. The interest on this award, \$160,000, has since

been expended annually in bounties to Canadian fishermen. American fishermen are required to pay about \$8,000 yearly for Canadian licenses.

The bill proposes an annual expenditure of about \$175,000 for American fishermen to offset Canadian bounties and license fees.

Before the recent purchase of a large number of British steamers by J. P. Morgan and other Americans was formally completed, Senator Foraker of Ohio, on March 14, explained to the Senate its relations to the American merchant marine, as follows:

"The lines said to be purchased are the White Star, the American Line to Southampton, the Red Star Line to Antwerp, the Leyland Line to Liverpool, the Atlantic Transport Line to London, the Dominion to Liverpool and London, and the Mediterranean from Boston.

* * * * *

"So far as those lines are concerned every one of them is a foreign line except the American Line, and every ship in those lines is foreign built and has been heretofore a foreign-owned ship, and is now a foreign-built ship but American owned. That being the case, this bill can not, if it becomes a law, be of the slightest benefit to the owners of these lines.

* * * * *

"What does it signify that Mr. Morgan and his associates have bought the Leyland Line, and that they have also recently bought these other lines, as has been stated? What is the significance of it? It has an impressive lesson for us. It has been referred to here in this Chamber in the course of this debate as though some great crime had been committed. Mr. President, I will not say a great crime, but I will say a great offense has been committed; but it has not been committed by the men who purchased these lines. It has been committed—and it is putting it not too strongly for me to say it—it has been committed by the Congress of the United States, and, in large part, here in this Chamber.

* * * * *

"The Congress of the United States, year after year for twenty years now, having this matter almost constantly under consideration, has failed to come to the rescue of this great industry. As a result of it all, men who can no longer do without ships—men who would want to invest their capital in ships of American build and have the American flag float over them—are driven, in order that they may conserve the great business interests with which they are identified, to go abroad and spend their millions in making purchases of steamship lines from the British, instead of spending their millions in the shipyards of the United States. That is the whole of it. Who suffers; or, rather, who does not suffer?

"Mr. President, I say that the only offense that has been committed has been committed by this body—I mean by the Congress of the United States—and that is an offense against every shipyard in this country, against the mechanics of this country, against the farmers of this country, against the whole people of this country, who are interested not only in a business point of view but in a patriotic sense in seeing our merchant marine restored.

"I do not know what purchases Mr. Morgan has made beyond the Leyland Line, but I do know that I am not at all surprised to hear that he has made that purchase, and that he has probably made the other purchases which have been referred to. It is just what should have been expected. If we had not protected our industries, established and developed them here under a protective-tariff policy, we would not have had them here; they would have been across the water. And just so it is, that so long as you refuse to make it safe and profitable to invest capital in an American merchant marine, so long shall we not have one, and our capital will be invested, as it has been in this instance, in the purchase of lines that belong to foreigners."

To Maintain American Standard of Wages.—To the higher wages enjoyed by labor in the United States than is paid to labor in other countries, and to the lack of protection to American ships in the foreign trade, are due the present unsatisfactory condition of American shipping in foreign trade. If American labor could be as cheaply employed in the building, officering, and manning of ships as foreign labor is employed, American ships would undoubtedly do the bulk of our foreign carrying. Or, if capital invested in the higher-priced American ships manned by higher-priced American labor, were protected against the unequal competition of foreign ships, as other American industries which are subjected to the competition of cheaper-paid foreign labor are protected, American ships would to-day be doing the larger part of our foreign carrying.

The Republican party, therefore, in repeatedly pledging itself to restore to American shipping a fair share of the carrying of our foreign commerce, seeks to maintain the American standard of wages and of living for the labor employed in the building and operation of the ships engaged in our foreign carrying.

Seventy-five years ago over 90 per cent of our foreign commerce was carried in American vessels, while to-day less than 10 per cent is so carried. American ships, costing 25 per cent more to build than it costs to build foreign ships, and costing 30 per cent more to operate than it costs to operate foreign ships, are unable to profitably compete with foreign ships without protection. In

addition, many of the foreign ships engaged in carrying American foreign commerce enjoy large subsidies and other grants from their governments. In order to meet these conditions measures have been introduced in Congress designed to place American ships in our foreign carrying trade upon terms of equality with foreign ships by the payment of sufficient subsidies to the former to offset the adverse conditions of high-priced American labor in the shipyards and on board the ships.

Unless this is done, capital seeking investment in ships will be placed in vessels built abroad and operated by foreigners more cheaply than would be possible under the American flag. To prevent this, our Government must make good to the investor the difference in the cost of construction and operation, and in the subsidies, subventions, mail pay, construction and navigation bounties, and other aids extended to their ships by other governments.

There are several reasons why other nations extend aid to their merchant ships, the chief one being the usefulness of the ships and their men as auxiliaries to the military arm of the governments in time of war. Our foreign commerce, therefore, contributes to the building of the ships and the education and employment of their officers and men. In other words, our neglect of our own shipping helps to build up and sustain a semimilitary possession of our rivals, a possession that strengthens our rivals while perpetuating our own weakness, a possession that may possibly be turned against us in war.

From an economic point of view it is desirable that the larger portion of our foreign commerce shall be carried by ships built in the United States, owned and operated by our own citizens, in order that the money now paid to foreigners may be used in employing American labor. It is also desirable that our vast export trade should not depend upon alien ships for its transportation, because of the ever-possible contingency of foreign wars which might cause the instant withdrawal of the greater part of the foreign shipping upon which we now depend for the exportation of our surplus products. Without the means for marketing our exports our wharves and warehouses would be filled with these products, in turn causing a curtailment in production, loss of employment and widespread industrial stagnation.

About 5,000,000 tons of ships are now engaged in carrying our imports and exports, about 800,000 tons of which are of American construction, and these latter ships carry less than 10 per cent of our entire foreign commerce. Foreign ships receive, it is carefully estimated, \$175,000,000 annually in freights upon our exports

and imports, and this vast sum of money is annually taken out of the country for the enrichment of foreigners, while American labor is deprived of the employment represented in the annual expenditure of that enormous sum. To keep up the shipping now engaged in our foreign carrying requires the annual construction of 250,000 tons of new vessels. The census report on shipbuilding shows that during the ten years ending with 1900, a total of only 206,771 tons of ships were built for our foreign trade—not enough in ten years to supply the needs of even one year! “At the rate of construction (in American shipyards for the foreign trade) in 1900,” says the census report in question, “one hundred and seventy-two years would elapse before enough tonnage would be built for the present needs of our foreign trade.”

Republican Remedy.—This is the condition that the Republican party is pledged to remedy by extending to our ships upon the sea and in competition with the cheaper-built, cheaper-operated, subsidized and bountied shipping of other countries, the same measure of protection that our laws now accord to other American industries that are in competition with foreign labor. The bill now pending in Congress merely provides, as to American mail carrying steamships, subsidies sufficient to offset the cheaper cost of constructing and manning and of subsidizing their foreign rivals, while as to the cargo-carrying vessels provision is made to compensate them sufficiently to equalize their higher cost of construction and operation with higher-priced American labor. All statements to the contrary, that is all that the pending bill is intended to accomplish, or that it will accomplish, if passed in its present form.

Free traders, on the other hand, suggest as a remedy for the present condition of American shipping in the foreign trade the repeal of the act passed in 1792, which denies American registry to foreign-built ships—what is called “free ships,” and which means the free admission of foreign-built ships to American registry. Because of the higher wages paid to American labor in the mines where the materials used in shipbuilding are produced; because of the higher wages paid to American labor in the mills where these materials are manufactured into the shapes required in shipbuilding; because of the higher wages paid to American labor in the shipyards, and because of the higher wages paid to American labor employed on board the ships, American free traders would have foreign-built ships admitted to American registry; they would permit aliens to command, officer and man them, and they would reduce the schedule of provisions provided by our laws to the level of the inferior and inadequate food scales required on ships

under other flags. It will be seen that this suggestion is wholly in the interest of alien builders, officers, and seamen, and is one that would strike a blow at American labor in every branch that contributes to the building and operation of ships.

On the other hand, even if foreign-built ships were admitted to American registry their owners would decline to avail themselves of the privilege, for the reason that they can be operated so much cheaper under foreign flags. Thus we see American capital being invested in ships built abroad, managed, officered, and manned by aliens, because the foreign labor is cheaper than the American labor, and to profitably operate his ships in competition with his foreign rival the American owner must be under conditions as advantageous as his rival in every respect. To subject themselves to the higher cost of operating their ships under the American flag, with the higher pay demanded and obtained by the officers and crews, and the larger quantity and better quality of food required by our laws, would make it impossible for them to profitably operate their ships in competition with foreign ships.

The whole question, therefore, is one affecting American labor—and that only. American capital can find safe and profitable investment in foreign ships, under foreign flags, managed, officered, and manned by aliens. If higher-paid American labor is to build the ships employed in our foreign carrying, the Government will have to make such ships as safe and profitable an investment as foreign-built ships now are. If American officers and men are to man these ships their owners must be compensated for the higher wages they are paid and the larger quantity and better quality of food they receive. The Government's interest in making good the higher wages paid in American shipyards and on board American ships, as compared with the wages in foreign shipyards and on foreign ships, will be in the resource of defense that will become a great and invaluable auxiliary military arm of the Government, available in time of war.

If the subsidy is paid it passes through the hands of the shipowner into the hands of American labor. If it is not paid, capital will continue to employ the cheaper-built and cheaper-operated foreign ships. The subsidy is necessary to the maintenance of the higher American standard of wages and of living. It means no more as to profits to the shipowner with the subsidy than he now enjoys in employing foreign-built and foreign-operated ships without the subsidy. The shipping question is one of benefiting American labor in competition with foreign labor, and the Republican party stands pledged to solve that question in a manner that shall in no degree impair the high standard of American wages.

THE FIFTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.

A DISTINCTIVELY BUSINESS CONGRESS—APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT SERVICE AMPLE, ECONOMICAL, AND CAREFULLY CONSIDERED.

The work of the Fifty-seventh Congress in its first session was reviewed by Representative Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, on the last day of that session. Mr. Cannon is chairman of the Committee on Appropriations in the House, and has held that position for many years. He is the best authority in the country on questions relating to the expenditures of the Government, so acknowledged by Democrats as well as by Republicans. No better authoritative statement of the work of the Fifty-seventh Congress can be given in the Text-Book than that of Mr. Cannon.

Mr. Cannon said:

"Mr. SPEAKER: We have now under consideration the final action touching the last of the general appropriation bills for this session, and with the consent of the House I will take advantage of the opportunity presented to offer a few remarks respecting the work that has been accomplished, with special reference to appropriations.

"This has been distinctively a business session of Congress. It closes with more important legislation to its credit than any session of Congress for several decades. It has passed more public acts and more private acts than any Congress that ever assembled in the history of the Republic. And if I may be permitted the remark, one of the claims upon which it merits popular distinction is the legislation which, after mature consideration, it has seen fit not to enact. Notable among the important enactments which it has passed are—

"An act to repeal war-revenue taxation;

"An act providing for the construction of an isthmian canal;

"An act continuing in force the laws heretofore passed for the exclusion of Chinese laborers;

"An act making oleomargarine and other imitation dairy products subject to the laws of any State or Territory into which they are transported and imposing a revenue tax thereon;

"An act providing a civil government for the Philippines;

"An act to provide revenue for the Philippines;

"An act to promote the efficiency of the Revenue-Cutter Service;

"An act providing for the extension of charters of national banks;

"An act appropriating receipts from sales of public lands to the construction of irrigation works for the reclamation of arid lands;

"An act to provide for a permanent Census Office;

"An act for the relief of owners of property taken by the military forces of the United States; and

"An act for the relief of bona fide settlers in forest reserves.

"In addition to these separate acts, important and beneficial legislation is contained in several of the general appropriation acts; for example, in the Post-Office act are provisions for the permanent organization and effective administration of the rural free-delivery service.

"**The Appropriations.**—The appropriations of the session, in my judgment, compare favorably with those made at any previous session of Congress, and in their every detail they will stand successfully the test of the most searching examination by fair-minded and intelligent men who believe in wise, prudent, and sufficient provision for every proper function of government of our great, growing, and progressive country.

"Before entering upon a detailed discussion of the subject of appropriations made at this session, I want to call attention to the fact that, in accordance with the promises of the Republican party, and because of the sufficiency of our revenues from normal sources under a wise and prudent Administration, we have removed practically the last of the taxes imposed for the prosecution of the war with Spain and for the resultant expenses incident thereto.

"It is estimated that, under the legislation enacted at this session, taxes have been repealed aggregating \$72,500,000 per annum—a larger reduction of taxes than was ever before made at any session of Congress. This appreciable relief in the burden of taxes is additional to the reduction of \$41,000,000 made at the last session of Congress, which closed on March 4, 1901.

"I will print as a part of my remarks a table giving a chronological history of the appropriation bills passed at this session. An analysis of this table shows that the total estimated expenditures forecast by the Executive Departments aggregated \$776,348,318.47; that the total appropriations made, exclusive of \$50,130,000 toward an Isthmian Canal, aggregate \$750,063,837. The table also gives a succinct history of all of the bills in their various stages of enactment, from estimates as submitted therefor until their final approval by the President.

"The great increase in population and the phenomenal expansion of commercial and industrial interests throughout the country are of themselves sufficient to explain the necessity of this apparent increase. But a casual examination of the totals of the regular appropriation acts in comparison with those passed at the last session affords an even better explanation.

"The Agricultural bill, prepared and reported by the Committee

on Agriculture, presided over by Hon. James W. Wadsworth, of New York, who has had many years of distinguished service on that committee, both as a minority member and as chairman, provides for the expenditures of the Department of Agriculture—a Department which represents and fosters the greatest of all our industries. That bill shows an increase of \$626,540.

“For the Army.—The Army appropriation bill shows a reduction of \$24,203,912.69. This fact, in itself, is a source of genuine satisfaction, and will meet the approval of the people. That bill has been prepared and formulated by the Committee on Military Affairs, under the able leadership of Hon. John A. T. Hull, of Iowa, a veteran soldier himself, accomplished in the science of war and familiar with all military matters. This agreeable result has been made possible by the wise administration of the War Department, the total number of men in the Army having been reduced since June 30 last from 77,287 to 66,497 men. As soon as law and order are fully restored in the Philippines the Army will be further reduced to the minimum provided by law, namely, 59,674 men.

“The diplomatic and consular appropriation bill, prepared under the supervision of my honored colleague, Hon. R. R. Hitt, of Illinois, whose ripe experience and comprehensive knowledge respecting our diplomatic service and the foreign relations of the Government are invaluable, exhibits an increase of \$108,496.93.

“The District of Columbia bill shows an increase of only \$45,257.03. In this connection it is proper to call attention to the fact that with the increasing needs and the rapid development of the national capital it has been found necessary and proper to pass legislation imposing moderate taxes on personal property, which for many years has borne no burden of taxation whatever in the District of Columbia.

“The fortification bill shows a reduction of \$65,056. The very large expenditures made for our seacoast defenses in the period immediately preceding and during the war with Spain rendered it possible and proper that the recent and current appropriations for those objects should be held substantially at what they were last year; and in my judgment they will require no material increase for some years to come.

“The Indian appropriation bill, under the skillful management of my friend from New York, Hon. James S. Sherman, chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, shows a creditable reduction of \$13,568.51, due mainly to the exclusion from the bill of objects not directly connected with the Indian service.

“The legislative, executive, and judicial bill shows an increase of \$3,412.65. This bill provides for the personal machinery of administering the Government through the Executive Departments at

Washington. With the marked growth in every branch of industry the Government at Washington must keep pace. The largest increase for personal services, it is significant to note, occurs in the Post-Office Department and in the Patent Office.

"The Military Academy bill, prepared by the Committee on Military Affairs, shows an increase of \$1,854,670.74. This is due chiefly not to an increase of scope or of ordinary expenses at the West Point institution, but to the necessity of reconstructing, enlarging, and building additional structures that have become imperatively necessary by the lapse of time and the increase in the number of cadets appointed under the law.

"The Navy.—The naval bill shows an increase of \$577,172.13. For many years following the civil war the Navy was greatly neglected. Its reconstruction began about twenty years ago, under the Administration of President Arthur. When the Spanish war came on, the weakness of this arm of our public defense was made painfully apparent to the people, and the Government was compelled to go into the markets of the world to buy ships.

"The bill just enacted was framed under the supervision of my friend and colleague from Illinois, Hon. George Edmund Foss, young, vigorous, and well equipped, who, in this as well as in the last Congress, has earned the country's praise for his intelligent and well-directed efforts for the upbuilding of the Navy. The bill provides for two first-class battle ships, two first-class armored cruisers, and two gunboats. It also makes ample appropriations to begin their construction and to continue the construction of the ships previously authorized.

"The pension appropriation bill shows on its face a reduction of \$5,403,000. This is not the result of efforts at severe economy, nor is it a source of congratulation. It emphasizes the fact that the only enemy before whom the American soldier retreats is the Grim Reaper himself, who is now rapidly decimating the ranks of the Union veterans of the war of the rebellion.

"The post-office appropriation bill, compiled under the argus eye of Hon. Eugene F. Loud, the safe and conservative chairman of the Committee on the Post-Office and Post-Roads, shows an unusual increase of \$14,633,910. But it simply marks the growth and prosperity of the country as evidenced through the operations of the Post-Office Department, which, under the Administrations of President McKinley and of President Roosevelt, have been conducted with progressiveness, economy, and business-like methods.

"No river and harbor bill was enacted by the last Congress—leaving unprovided with original appropriations authorized a longer period than we have had before in many years. The sum directly *appropriated* by the bill of this session amounts to \$28,727,442.

which, in itself, is a sheer increase over the appropriations made at the last session, and more than offsets the increase of the total appropriations made by this session, exclusive of the sum for the Isthmian Canal. In addition to the appropriations directly made by the river and harbor bill, contracts are authorized involving future appropriations by the next session and future Congresses amounting to \$38,336,160.

"On this point it is not inappropriate to observe that under the present practice, which has proven wise, effective, and economical, the continuing-contract system inaugurated in the Fifty-first Congress under the guidance of Hon. Thomas J. Henderson, then and for many years previously my colleague, and a most useful Representative from the State of Illinois, has been followed and applied by Congress to river and harbor and many other classes of public works, resulting in great economy in expenditures as well as great expedition and dispatch in the consummation of public works.

"The authorizations under this bill and those for public buildings, together with the very large sum which has been authorized toward the construction of the Isthmian Canal, will require appropriations in great or large degree for many years to come. They are not here treated as a part of the outright appropriations, for the very sufficient reason that when they are met hereafter they will be charged and carried, in the Congressional and Treasury statements, as appropriations. To consider them as outright appropriations now would but duplicate the figures.

"I may add that the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, Hon. Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio, accomplished and scholarly as we all know him to be, well merits the confidence reposed in him by the House and the country for the zeal and discriminating earnestness with which he has superintended the labors of his committee at this and past sessions in the preparation of the great measures for public improvements of national necessity and importance.

"The sundry civil bill, the 'omnium-gatherem' vehicle which carries provision for every conceivable phase of the public expenditures of the National Government not specifically cared for in the other bills, shows a reduction of \$1,670,549.08 below the amount carried by the act of last year. Notwithstanding this appreciable reduction in the sum total, the bill carries many matters that are new for next year, notably:

"Public Buildings.—For new public buildings, authorized at this session, to be constructed in the chief cities and towns of the United States, in order properly to care for the public service within their precincts, \$4,995,450.

"It also provides increased sums for many objects that have peculiar demands upon the nation's bounty; for example:

"The National Home, and the Homes in States, for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, are increased from \$4,024,144 to \$4,673,869, or \$649,825.

"For artificial limbs for soldiers, the appropriation is increased from \$125,000 to \$514,000, or \$389,000; and

"The appropriation for providing for simple headstones that mark the last resting places of the soldier dead of the Union has been doubled in this bill.

"For deficiencies an aggregate sum of \$28,039,911.42 is appropriated, being an increase over the deficiencies appropriated for last year of \$12,122,464.48. These deficiencies include sums for a variety of purposes that could not be foreseen in order to be provided for at the last session, and could not be avoided when they presented themselves during this session. Among them is included an item of \$500,000 'for the proper shelter and protection of officers and enlisted men of the Army of the United States lawfully on duty in the Philippine Islands, to be expended in the discretion of the President.'

"On the occasion of its consideration in the House on January 24 last, a yea-and-nay vote was demanded and taken. Every Democrat, save seven, recorded himself in opposition; no Republican member voted against it. It was on that occasion that the late Amos J. Cummings, a Democratic member from New York, when taunted by his party colleagues and told to sit down, exclaimed:

" 'When I refuse to vote to protect the lives of American soldiers, I hope I may be paralyzed.'

"In addition to this appropriation, which was attended by such dramatic scenes and utterances in the House, the several deficiency bills carried unusual amounts for many other objects that were eminently proper, and which could not, in the patriotic performance of our duty, have been avoided by the majority in control of this Congress, namely:

"For refunding to States moneys expended in raising troops to suppress the war of the rebellion, and which were determined by the Supreme Court of the United States to be due and owing to the several States, amounting to \$4,272,239.33.

"For constructing the new branch of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers in Tennessee, \$350,000.

"For miscellaneous objects, including \$1,662,117.57 for payment of claims that had been adjudicated under findings of the Court of Claims, and otherwise demonstrated to be fair and just, the appropriations are \$5,390,018.67 less than those made for similar objects at the last session. In this connection I will mention the

fact that among the other miscellaneous acts of the session was one establishing a National Sanitarium of the National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, at Hot Springs, in South Dakota, and appropriating therefor \$170,000.

"Permanent Annual Appropriations.—The permanent annual appropriations are diminished, according to the estimates of the Treasury Department, \$437,000. The whole sum carried as permanent annual appropriations, \$123,921,220, includes \$54,000,000 to meet the requirements of the sinking fund.

"For many years past the surplus moneys in the Treasury have been devoted, in the exercise of the discretion lodged in the Secretary of the Treasury, to the extinguishment of the public debt to an extent far in excess of the requirements of the sinking fund, and under the law it is a mere matter of discretion with the Secretary how much shall be devoted to that purpose, depending chiefly as it does upon what surplus revenues are realized. Under these permanent appropriations is also included the sum of \$27,500,000 for interest on the public debt.

"It is not inappropriate here to advert to the fact that the expenditures for the past two fiscal years, 1900 and 1901, show that during that period there has been applied to the sinking fund more than \$113,000,000, a sum greater than the law actually requires, and which exceeds the whole amount applied to the extinguishment of the public debt during all of the nine fiscal years from 1891 to 1899, inclusive.

"During the four years of President Cleveland's last Administration, from 1893 to 1896, inclusive, only \$13,400,047.98 was applied to the payment of the public debt, while during the same period that Administration issued bonds to the extent of \$262,315,400 in order to raise money wherewith to pay current expenses and maintain the public credit.

"An Isthmian Canal.—The statement which I have submitted shows at the conclusion of the column of appropriations made at this session an appropriation of \$50,130,000 for the isthmian canal. This sum, for manifest and, as I believe, satisfactory reasons, has not been included in the footing, nor have I taken it into consideration in any of the comparisons made with or deductions drawn from the appropriations of this or other sessions of Congress, or in connection with the questions of revenue or expenditures that I have adverted to.

enterprise in itself is more than a national one. If successfully prosecuted it will materially affect the commercial prosperity whole civilized world; but chiefly and in an immeasurable our own country, from the standpoint of commercial success as well as of public defense, will be the greatest bene-

ficiary. The project is one that is demanded by practically the whole body of our people, and in no sense is it a partisan measure. The appropriations and the contract authorizations embodied in this act are conditional and depend in large degree upon the exercise of the President's discretion.

"If the Panama route is not accepted by the President \$40,000,000 of the whole sum appropriated will cease to be available, and no part of it will be expended. In that event only \$10,130,000 will be expended under authority of the act, and its expenditure will doubtless extend over several years, owing to the delays that will be inevitable in the inauguration and prosecution of the actual work of construction. For these reasons I conceive it improbable that anyone would insist upon the use of these figures for purposes of partisan comparison.

"A further analysis of the table which I submit shows that the appropriations made in the regular annual bills, for ordinary expenses of the Government payable during the fiscal year 1903, aggregate \$595,502,705.58, which, together with the sums carried under permanent appropriations, and exclusive of the amount required by the sinking fund, makes a total of \$665,423,925.50. In the nature of things, and in the light of past experience, this entire sum will never be expended, but will probably be reduced in the neighborhood of 10 per cent. The revenues of the Government, as now estimated, on the basis of the revenue-deduction legislation enacted at this session, amount to \$639,520,630.

"The appropriations for 1899, including postal service and sinking fund, and the large sums required at the beginning of the war with Spain, amounted to \$893,231,615.55, while the actual expenditures reached only \$700,124,837.50, or \$193,106,778.05 in sum total, and more than 21½ per cent, less than the appropriations.

"Again, the appropriations for 1900, including postal service, sinking-fund requirements, and appropriations incident to the war with Spain, amounted to \$674,981,022.29. The actual expenditures thereunder reached only \$646,612,927.06, or \$28,368,095.23 in sum total, and 4 1-10 per cent, less than the appropriation.

"Similarly, the appropriations for 1901, including postal service, sinking-fund requirements, and amounts incident to the war with Spain, amounted to \$710,150,862.88, while the total expenditures thereunder reached only \$678,073,237.27, or \$32,077,625.61 in sum total, and 4½ per cent, less than the appropriations.

"The figures I give with reference to appropriations and expenditures, and the disparity between them, are taken from the statements of appropriations made by Congress, and from reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, combining from the latter the

amounts stated as total expenditures, amounts applied to the sinking fund, and amounts paid from postal revenues.

"It will be seen by these figures that, applying the average percentage of disparity for the past three years between appropriations and expenditures actually incurred (and the actual per cent for 1903 will, I believe, be as great), the expenditures to be made under the appropriations of this session will not exceed \$600,000,000, or a sum approximating \$40,000,000 less than the revenues which we expect to derive under the revenue laws as revised by this Congress.

Our soldiers carrying our flag in Luzon will be supported by the people of the United States (continued applause), and hostilities will stop in that distant island of the sea when the men who assaulted our flag and our soldiers shall lay down their arms.—President McKinley, at Cleveland, Ohio, October 18, 1899.

We will fulfill in the Philippines the obligations imposed by the triumphs of our Army and the treaty of peace by international law, by the nation's sense of honor, and more than all by the rights, interests, and conditions of the Philippine people themselves.—President McKinley to Notification Committee, July 12, 1900.

We have not had any water cures in the South on the negroes, but one Senator said the other day something about the sand cure. I say, from my knowledge of the situation, that when we get ready to put a negro's head in the sand we put his body there, too.—Senator B. F. Tillman, in the United States Senate, May 7, 1902.

The boys who carry our flag in that distant sea will be sustained by the American people. It is the flag of our faith and our purpose; it is the flag of our love. It represents the conscience of the country, and carries with it, wherever it goes, education, civilization, and liberty. And let those lower it who will!—President McKinley, at Evanston, Ill., October 17, 1899.

The Government should provide in its contracts that all work should be done under "fair" conditions, and in addition to setting a high standard should uphold it by proper inspection, extending, if necessary, to the subcontractors. The Government should forbid all night work for women and children, as well as excessive overtime.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 8, 1901.

Chronological History of appropriation bills, first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress; estimates and appropriation for the fiscal year 1902-3, and appropriations for the fiscal year 1901-1902.

[Prepared by the clerks to the Committees on Appropriations of the Senate and House of Representatives.]

Title.	Estimates, 1902.		Reported to the House.		Passed the House.		Reported to the Senate.		Passed the Senate.		Law, 1902-3.		Law, 1901-2.	
	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Date.
Agriculture.....	\$5,500,540.00	Apr. 21	\$5,150,070.00	Apr. 30	\$5,114,540.00	May 10	\$5,240,080.00	May 13	\$5,240,080.00	May 13	\$5,208,960.00		\$4,582,420.00	
Army.....	99,249,982.03	Mar. 2	90,880,136.41	Mar. 27	9,880,136.41	Mar. 7	92,385,136.41	May 12	92,385,136.41	May 12	91,590,136.41		115,734,040.10	
Comptroller and Diplomatic.....	20,94,573.76	Feb. 18	1,033,078.76	Feb. 28	1,029,828.76	May 6	1,002,385.69	Mar. 7	1,004,025.69	Mar. 7	1,057,925.69		1,849,428.76	
Dist. of Columbia a.....	7,829,016.00	Apr. 26	7,897,054.97	May 2	7,897,210.97	June 13	9,848,673.97	June 14	9,894,373.97	June 14	8,547,520.97		8,502,290.94	
Fortification.....	16,399,308.60	Apr. 3	6,562,455.00	Apr. 19	6,562,455.00	May 10	7,946,481.00	May 15	7,946,481.00	May 15	7,298,355.00		7,304,011.00	
Indian.....	7,124,271.06	Feb. 14	8,696,625.09	Feb. 21	8,678,120.06	Apr. 1	9,021,210.36	Apr. 5	9,438,210.36	Apr. 5	9,145,902.58		9,747,471.19	
Legislative etc.....	25,023,533.16	Feb. 5	23,175,569.90	Feb. 7	23,174,699.90	Mar. 4	25,460,165.50	Mar. 5	25,460,165.50	Mar. 5	25,398,981.50		24,594,068.85	
Military Academy.....	898,812.42	Apr. 15	3,627,324.42	Apr. 22	2,627,324.42	May 16	2,627,324.42	June 6	2,627,324.42	June 6	2,627,324.42		772,653.08	
Navy.....	98,010,984.63	Apr. 28	77,650,286.63	May 19	77,619,933.13	June 3	78,166,838.13	June 6	79,351,238.13	June 6	78,678,963.13		78,101,701.00	
Pension.....	139,846,480.00	Jan. 10	139,842,290.00	Jan. 15	139,842,290.00	Jan. 20	139,842,290.00	Feb. 7	139,842,290.00	Feb. 7	139,842,290.00		145,245,230.00	
Post-Office b.....	134,731,376.00	Feb. 14	137,016,598.75	Mar. 14	137,016,598.75	Apr. 8	138,466,757.35	Apr. 15	138,466,757.35	Apr. 15	138,416,598.75		128,782,688.75	
River and harbor.....	223,123,300.00	Mar. 1	24,219,107.00	Mar. 21	24,219,107.00	Apr. 11	28,910,942.00	Apr. 21	29,045,942.00	Apr. 21	29,045,942.00		26,726,442.00	
Sundry civil.....	57,004,715.78	Mar. 28	40,813,695.73	Apr. 2	40,813,695.73	Apr. 16	52,719,943.13	May 5	56,381,904.13	May 5	56,381,904.13		61,765,908.21	
Total.....	618,927,008.47		578,902,533.26		578,272,850.13		566,237,800.96		568,113,857.96		565,502,705.58		582,072,890.38	

Amount of estimated revenues for fiscal year 1903.....\$507,500,000.00
 Amount of estimated postal revenues for fiscal year 1903.....192,020,630.00
 Total estimated revenues for fiscal year 1903.....699,520,630.00

a One-half of the amounts for the District of Columbia payable by the United States, except amounts for the water department estimated for 1903 at \$23,016), which are payable from the revenues of the water department.
 b Includes all expenses of the postal service payable from postal revenues and out of the Treasury.
 c This amount is exclusive of \$3,489,571.50 to meet contracts authorized by law for river and harbor improvements included in the sundry civil estimates for 1903.
 d In addition to this amount the sum of \$5,708,757.50 is appropriated in the sundry civil act to carry out contracts authorized by law for river and harbor improvements for 1903, making in all \$32,885,160.50 for rivers and harbors for 1903.
 e For river and harbor bill passed for 1902, but the sum of \$7,946,623 is appropriated in the sundry civil act to carry out contracts authorized by law for river and harbor improvements for 1902.
 f This amount includes \$5,699,571.50 to meet contracts authorized by law for river and harbor improvements for 1903.
 g This amount includes \$5,708,757.50 to carry out contracts authorized by law for river and harbor improvements for 1903.
 h This amount includes \$7,946,623 to carry out contracts authorized by law for river and harbor improvements for 1902.

Chronological history of appropriation bills.—Continued.

Estimates 1903.	Reported to the House.		Passed the House.		Reported to the Senate.		Passed the Senate.		Law, 1902-3.		Law, 1901-2.	
	Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Date.	Amount.	Amount.	Amount.	Amount.	Amount.
80,000,000.00	Jan. 18	\$16,704,290.54	Jan. 24	\$17,076,470.54	Feb. 8	\$20,290,620.83	Feb. 5	\$20,255,176.83	\$20,383,864.83			
	Apr. 8	192,787.39	Apr. 4	200,567.89	Apr. 5	200,567.89	Apr. 5	200,567.89	200,567.89			
	May 20	66,200.00	Apr. 14	66,200.00	Apr. 15	66,200.00	Apr. 15	75,200.00	75,200.00			
	June 14	4,051,817.83	June 18	4,051,884.31	June 25	8,428,910.80	June 26	8,575,122.60	178,500.00			15,917,446.94
									7,201,777.20			
648,627,008.47									623,542,617.00			567,890,887.32
66,500,000.00									2,000,000.00			7,990,018.67
652,427,008.47												
123,921,220.00									623,142,617.00			605,890,855.99
									123,921,220.00			b 124,958,220.00
776,948,918.47												
									2750,003,887.00			d 780,888,576.99
									50,180,000.00			

^a This amount is approximated.

^b This is the amount submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury in the annual estimates for the fiscal year 1902, the exact amount appropriated not being ascertainable until two years after the close of the fiscal year.

^c In addition to this amount, contracts are authorized to be entered into, subject to future appropriations by Congress, as follows: By the sundry civil act, \$21,846; by the naval act, \$18,500,000; by the sundry civil act, \$916,000; by the Military Academy act, \$3,500,000; by the river and harbor act, \$88,000; by the urgent deficiency act, \$550,000; by the public buildings act, \$15,946,654; and by the Isthmian canal act, \$18,000,000; in all, \$23,857,821.

^d In addition to this amount, contracts are authorized to be entered into, subject to future appropriations by Congress, as follows: By the sundry civil act, \$486,500; by the naval act, \$1,584,940; by the sundry civil act, \$32,760; by the act of March 3, 1801 (public buildings act), \$238,000; in all, \$4,254,640.

WORK OF CONGRESS.

LEGISLATION OF THE FIRST SESSION OF THE FIFTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.

The Fifty-Seventh Congress convened on December 2, 1901, and elected Hon. David B. Henderson, of Iowa, its Speaker, and the Hon. Alexander McDowell, of Pennsylvania, its Clerk.

Political Divisions.—On the date of assembling, the House was divided politically, as follows:

Republicans	198
Democrats	153
Populists	4
Silver	1
Vacant	1
Total	357

You may try the system of protection by any test you will, I care not what it is, and it meets every emergency, it answers every demand. More than that, it has not been against the Government, either in peace or in war.—Major McKinley, at Niles, Ohio, August 22, 1891.

Yet more and more it is evident that the State, and, if necessary, the nation, has got to possess the right of supervision and control as regards the great corporations which are its creatures; particularly as regards the great business combinations which derive a portion of their importance from the existence of some monopolistic tendency.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

Not only must our labor be protected by the tariff, but it should also be protected so far as it is possible from the presence in this country of any laborers brought over by contract, or of those who, coming freely, yet represent a standard of living so depressed that they can undersell our men in the labor market and drag them to a lower level. I regard it as necessary, with this end in view, to reenact immediately the law excluding Chinese laborers and to strengthen it wherever necessary in order to make its enforcement entirely effective.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

Divided as follows at the close of the first session:

States.	Repub- lican.	Demo- crat.	Popu- list.	Silver.	Vacant.
Alabama.....		9			
Arkansas.....		6			
California.....	7				
Colorado.....		1		1	
Connecticut.....	4				
Delaware.....	1				
Florida.....		2			
Georgia.....		11			
Idaho.....			1		
Illinois.....	11	11			
Indiana.....	9	4			
Iowa.....	11				
Kansas.....	7	1			
Kentucky.....	8	8			
Louisiana.....		6	4		
Maine.....	4				
Maryland.....	6				
Massachusetts.....	9	8			1
Michigan.....	12				
Minnesota.....	7				
Mississippi.....		7			
Missouri.....	2	11			1
Montana.....			1		
Nebraska.....	2	2	2		
Nevada.....		1			
New Hampshire.....	2				
New Jersey.....	6	1			1
New York.....	22	1			1
North Carolina.....	2	7			
North Dakota.....	1				
Ohio.....	17	4			
Oregon.....	2				
Pennsylvania.....	26	3			1
Rhode Island.....	2				
South Carolina.....		7			
South Dakota.....	2				
Tennessee.....	2	8			
Texas.....		13			
Utah.....	1				
Vermont.....	2				
Virginia.....		9			1
Washington.....	2				
West Virginia.....	4				
Wisconsin.....	10				
Wyoming.....	1				
Total.....	199	147	4	1	6

The membership at adjournment stood as follows:

Republicans	199
Democrats	147
Populists	4*
Silver	1
Vacant (1 Republican, 5 Democrats.)	6

The new House to be chosen at the coming election will consist of 386 members, apportioned among the States as follows:

Apportionment for the Fifty-eighth Congress—Ratio of Population per Member, 193,175.—That after the 3d day of March, 1903,

the House of Representatives shall be composed of 386 members, to be apportioned among the several States as follows:

Alabama, 9; Arkansas, 7; California, 8; Colorado, 3; Connecticut, 5; Delaware, 1; Florida, 3; Georgia, 11; Idaho, 1; Illinois, 25; Indiana, 13; Iowa, 11; Kansas, 8; Kentucky, 11; Louisiana, 7; Maine, 4; Maryland, 6; Massachusetts, 14; Michigan, 12; Minnesota, 9; Mississippi, 8; Missouri, 16; Montana, 1; Nebraska, 6; Nevada, 1; New Hampshire, 2; New Jersey, 10; New York, 37; North Carolina, 10; North Dakota, 2; Ohio, 21; Oregon, 2; Pennsylvania, 32; Rhode Island, 2; South Carolina, 7; South Dakota, 2; Tennessee, 10; Texas, 16; Utah, 1; Vermont, 2; Virginia, 10; Washington, 3; West Virginia, 5; Wisconsin, 11; Wyoming, 1.

Legislative Work.—The House assembled on December 2, 1901, and adjourned July 1, 1902, covering 183 legislative days, in which time the House was in session 150 legislative days and 1 Sunday, making a total of 151 days. The 33 days on which sessions were not held occurred in the early part of the session, and were principally taken up by the holiday adjournments and the preliminary organization of the House.

It is a noticeable fact that from the first session of the Twenty-first Congress in 1829-30, until the assembling of the Fifty-fifth Congress, the long session occupied more than 180 days.

In the Fifty-sixth Congress the House was in session 139 days, and adjourned over only 8 days, so that while the session just closed extended a little longer than the previous long session of the Fifty-sixth, the amount of work accomplished by it far exceeds the record and will readily show that this session was the most industrious and successful in the accomplishment of its work according to the record made, of any long session ever held.

The following tabulated statement will enable one at a glance to see what has been accomplished.

Detailed statement of House work, Fifty-seventh Congress, first session.

Calendar.	Bills reported. ^a	Bills Passed. ^a	Bills undisposed of. ^a
Union.....	808	162	156
House.....	281	180	51
Private.....	2,008	1,599	409
Total.....	62,547	1,981	616

^a In all cases the words bills and acts are made to cover the bills, acts, and simple, joint, and concurrent resolutions.

^b 208 reports never reached the Calendar.

Of the bills reported 2,044 were House bills and resolutions and 706 were Senate acts and resolutions. Of the bills left undisposed of,

616, there were 452 which originated in the House and 164 of Senate origin. Carried on the Calendars, as undisposed of, the allotment is as follows: House bills 108, Senate acts 48, on the Union Calendar; House 45 and Senate 6, on the House Calendar, and House 299 and Senate 110 on the Private Calendar.

During the first session, Fifty-seventh Congress, there were introduced in the House:

Bills	15,363
Joint resolutions	210
Concurrent resolutions	59
Resolutions	337
Total	15,969
Of these 1,767 were disposed of, as follows:	
Adverse reports	84
Enacting clause stricken out	6
Laid on the table	26
Became public resolutions	24
Became public laws	132
Became private laws	771
Became private resolution	1
Resolutions, passed	72
Vetoed by the President	5
Passed, not acted on by the Senate:	
Private	382
Public	61
Total	1,767
Total not acted upon by House	14,202

The Senate passed and sent to the House for its concurrence 1,156 bills and resolutions, on which action by the House was had as follows:

Taken from the Speaker's table and passed....	23
Referred to committees	1,133

Total	1,156
Reported by committees	706

These 706 bills were disposed of as follows:

.....	7
.....	1
olutions	23
.....	120
rs	410
ident	3
in conference	4
posed of	164

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF BILLS INTRODUCED AND REPORTS MADE.

The total number of bills and resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives during the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress was 15,969, on which reports were made on 2,044 bills and resolutions. During the same time a total of 1,156 Senate acts and resolutions were introduced, on which there were referred to the committees of the House a total of 1,133. On this number reports were made on 706 by the House committees. The assignment of the bills, acts, and resolutions and the reports made are given on page 310.

We have been moving in untried paths, but our steps have been guided by honor and duty; there will be no turning aside, no wavering, no retreat.—President McKinley to Notification Committee, July 12, 1900.

All hostilities will cease in the Philippines when those who commenced them stop; and they will not cease until our flag, representing liberty, humanity, and civilization, shall float triumphantly in every island of the archipelago under the acknowledged sovereignty of the United States.—President McKinley, at Racine, Wis., October 17, 1899.

Duty determines destiny. Destiny which results from duty performed may bring anxiety and perils, but never failure and dishonor. Pursuing duty may not always lead by smooth paths. Another course may look easier and more attractive, but pursuing duty for duty's sake is always sure and safe and honorable.—President McKinley, at Chicago, October 19, 1898.

But it is not possible ever to insure prosperity merely by law. Something for good can be done by law, and bad laws can do an infinity of mischief; but, after all, the best law can only prevent wrong and injustice and give to the thrifty, the far-seeing, and the hard-working a chance to exercise to the best advantage their especial and peculiar abilities.—Theodore Roosevelt, at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

This subject of expansion is not a new one. It was the gospel of the early statesmen and patriots of this country. It found substantial realization in the magnificent achievement of that illustrious statesman, Thomas Jefferson. It was the dream of Marcy. In 1853 he sought to acquire the Hawaiian Islands. It was the dream of Seward; it was the dream of Douglas.—President McKinley, at Madison, Wis., October 16, 1899.

Committees.	Bills and acts referred.		Reports made on them.	
	House.	Senate.	House.	Senate.
Accounts	78	0	33	0
Agriculture	85	1	6	1
Alcoholic Liquor Traffic	1	1	0	1
Appointment and Payment of House Employees	0	0	1	0
Appropriations	42	7	13	0
Banking and Currency	27	1	2	1
Census	10	1	5	1
Claims	904	67	140	28
Coinage, Weights, and Measures	20	3	9	1
Disposition of Useless Executive Papers	0	0	0	0
District of Columbia	166	25	26	8
Education	6	1	5	1
Election of President, Vice-President, and Representatives in Congress	10	0	1	0
Elections No. 1	4	0	1	0
Elections No. 2	3	0	4	0
Elections No. 3	2	0	2	0
Enrolled Bills. <i>a</i>	0	0	0	0
Expenditures in Departments. <i>b</i>				
Foreign Affairs	67	18	15	11
Immigration and Naturalization	17	1	1	0
Indian Affairs	149	23	34	13
Industrial Arts and Expositions	1	1	0	0
Insular Affairs	14	2	5	1
Interstate and Foreign Commerce	205	66	71	50
Invalid Pensions	6,544	508	956	397
Irrigation of Arid Lands	9	1	2	1
Judiciary	233	34	52	13
Labor	24	0	4	0
Levees and Improvements in the Mississippi River	3	0	0	0
Library	88	5	13	1
Memorial Exercises, the Late President McKinley	1	0	1	0
Merchant Marine and Fisheries	73	12	24	3
Military Affairs	2,349	85	145	98
Militia	4	0	1	0
Mineral and Mining	7	1	3	1
Naval Affairs	215	24	14	10
Pacific Railroads	3	0	1	0
Patents	30	2	5	0
Pensions	816	82	172	56
Post-Office and Post-Roads	69	3	5	0
Printing	69	30	24	33
Private Land Claims	7	2	0	0
Public Buildings and Grounds. <i>c</i>	354	59	2	0
Public Lands	133	27	46	14
Purchase of Danish West Indies	0	0	1	0
Railways and Canals	7	0	2	0
Reform in the Civil Service	21	0	2	0
Revision of the Laws	5	0	1	0
Rivers and Harbors. <i>d</i>	167	9	5	1
Rules	50	0	18	0
Territories	59	2	15	1
War Claims	2,303	19	137	8
Ways and Means	151	10	19	7

a Reported on 1,102 enrolled bills not carried in the totals.

b The Committees on Expenditures in the Departments of Agriculture, Justice, Interior, Navy, Post-Office, State, Treasury, and War, and on Public Buildings did not have any bills referred to them and made no reports.

c The Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds reported one "omnibus" bill, which include 191 cities and towns and covered that number of bills and acts.

d The Committee on Rivers and Harbors reported one general bill covering 300 items, which were covered in the bills introduced.

Resolutions passed on introductions without reference to committees, 72.

Senate acts taken from Speaker's table and passed without reference to committees, 22.

Important Measures.—The following list embraces some of the more important bills of a general nature which passed the House:

H. R. 11535. Protection of game in Alaska, Pub. Law No. 147.

H. R. 12543. Arizona Territory, to admit to Statehood. Passed House May 9, 1902.

H. R. 13679. Amending bankruptcy laws. Passed House June 17, 1902.

S. 176. To extend charter of national banks. Pub. Law No. 70.

H. R. 3110. Isthmian Canal between Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Pub. Law 183.

H. R. 10308. Providing for a permanent Census Office. Pub. Law No. 27. Four separate acts, relating to the operations of the Census Office, were also passed.

H. R. 8587. Claims arising under Bowman Act. Pub. Law No. 124.

S. 88. Claims for property taken by United States Army. Pub. Law No. 25.

H. R. 8586. Claims under Spanish Treaty Commission. Pub. Law No. 214.

Also:

H. R. 3641. Claims Spanish war—to allow. Pub. Law No. 190.

H. R. 12704. To increase the subsidiary silver coinage. Passed House May 29, 1902.

H. R. 12765. Cuba—reciprocal trade with. Passed House April 18, 1902.

H. R. 13996. Cuba—appropriations for consular service. Pub. Law No. 116.

H. Res. 265. Cuba—congratulations to Republic of. Passed House May 20, 1902.

S. 1747. Firearms—sale of in Pacific Islands. Pub. Law No. 10.

H. R. 9037. Homesteads—commutation of entries. Pub. Law No. 122.

H. R. 159. Homestead—Colville Indian Reservation. Passed House March 14, 1902.

H. R. 12199. Immigration of aliens—to regulate. Passed House May 27, 1902.

S. 3057. Irrigation of arid lands. Pub. Law No. 161.

H. R. 3076. Laborers—limiting hours of service in Government employ. Passed House May 19, 1902.

H. R. 13169. Mail matter—regulating third and fourth class. Passed House May 1, 1902.

S. 2162. Marine-Hospital Service—changes in. Pub. Law No. 236.

- H. R. 15345. Militia—to promote the efficiency of. Passed House June 30, 1902.
- H. R. 8327. Miners—to protect the lives of. Pub. Law No. 222.
- H. R. 12543. New Mexico—admission to Statehood. Passed House May 9, 1902. Oklahoma Statehood—same as above.
- H. R. 9206. Oleomargarine—tax on. Pub. Law No. 110.
- H. R. 12141. Pensions to remarried widows. Passed House June 16, 1902.
- S. R. 8. Pensions, construing act of June 27, 1890. Pub. Res. 42.
- S. 640. Pensions, Indian wars, 1832 to 1842. Pub. Law No. 174.
- S. 4850. Pensions for loss of limbs—increase. Passed House June 16, 1902.
- S. 2295. Philippine Islands—government for. Pub. Law No. 235.
- H. R. 14411. Prisoners, United States—commutation of time for good conduct. Pub. Law No. 170.
- H. R. 14018. Public buildings, providing for, in 191 cities. Pub. Law No. 146.
- H. R. 10530. Revenue or war taxes—to repeal. Pub. Law No. 67.
- H. R. 11728. Rural free delivery, postal. Passed House March 10, 1902.
- S. 6016. Train robbing—to suppress. Pub. Law No. 242.
- Bridge bills to the number of 48 were passed and approved.
- Bills affecting the courts of the United States in excess of those usually passed were disposed of.
- Bills relating to the affairs of the District of Columbia of a public nature were passed, covering about thirty separate subjects.
- Legislation for Indian affairs was more liberal than in any Congress for a number of years.

It is no longer a question of expansion with us; we have expanded. If there is any question at all, it is a question of contraction; and who is going to contract?—President McKinley, at Iowa Falls, Iowa, October 16, 1899.

It is no limitation upon property rights or freedom of contract to require that when men receive from Government the privilege of doing business under corporate form, which frees them from individual responsibility, and enables them to call into their enterprises the capital of the public, they shall do so upon absolutely truthful representations as to the value of the property in which the capital is to be invested.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

RULES OF THE HOUSE.

A PARLIAMENTARY VIEW OF THEM BY A PARLIAMENTARIAN.

The rules of the House of Representatives have been much discussed and much misrepresented. Mr. Asher C. Hinds, clerk at the Speaker's table, is the authority on these rules on whom the Speaker relies for the citation of authorities in making his rulings.

Mr. Hinds is not a partisan, he is a parliamentarian and probably the best posted man in the United States on parliamentary practice in general and the rules of the House in detail. Mr. Hinds has written the following article on the rules of the House:

Criticism of the rules of the House of Representatives, both in the House itself and in the columns of the press, is by no means a phenomenon of present political conditions. Even in those early days, now fondly referred to as the better days of the Republic, the rules came in for their share of the criticism which freemen so delight to mete out to their institutions and statesmen. The vigorous tongue of John Randolph, of Virginia, disported itself fully as much at the expense of the rules of procedure as at the business methods of the great Speaker, who in that early day realized that a legislative body should first of all be able to legislate.

Present criticisms are directed almost entirely at the Committee on Rules, which is represented as exercising tyranny, variously compared to the most notable of the historic tyrannies. And present criticism is probably milder than has been known in the last ten years of the committee's activities. Yet the Rules Committee has continued its duties, whether one party or the other has controlled, and no serious attempt has been made on the floor of the House either to reform or abolish it.

It is evident that an institution so freely denounced and so unanimously upheld must have about it some things worth studying. Nor will an examination of the functions of the committee consume much space or great time.

Nearly every American is familiar with the procedure of the ordinary society or lodge meeting, where there is abundant time to transact all the business and hear every member who wishes to speak. There is a freedom and ease of action in such a meeting that renders drastic rules unnecessary. But give one of these delightful little assemblies twice as much business as it can transact *in the time before it*, and three or four times as many debaters

desiring the floor as can be heard. Everyone understands what turmoil and confusion would ensue.

More than half a century ago the House of Representatives found itself in precisely this condition, and one of the means of relief was a rule establishing an ironclad order of business providing that reports of committees and other business should be taken up only in a fixed order. This helped along the public business by substituting order for chaos. Legislative propositions marched up for consideration in single file instead of as a mob.

But as the years went on the file grew so long that many measures would be waiting in line when the Congress expired. Sometimes important bills, even great measures appropriating supplies of money for the Government, would be left in line, blocked by less important measures ahead of them.

It took the House a long time to devise a satisfactory system whereby certain bills, because of their importance, might be allowed to step out of their place in the file and march to the front while other bills waited. The perplexities attending this reform were some such as those which attend the establishment of rules of precedence in social affairs; but the House has finally settled the problem in a fairly satisfactory way. It was evident to all that common sense required that the general appropriation bills should be allowed to step out of the file and move to the front at any time. It was also easy to set aside one day in the week when bills for the benefit of private individuals should be allowed to come to the front on condition that on all other days of the week they should give way to bills relating to public affairs.

Suspend the Rules.—In later years a few other distinctions have been established whereby bills of importance greater than that of the common kind have been given precedence.

But as more than 15,000 bills demand the attention of the House in a Congress, and as the House can not act on 3,000, it is evident that with all the rules of precedence there remain 12,000 bills that wait in vain.

In former years the line of hopeless waiters was not so large, not because the House did more business, for it did less, but because the demands of the country were not so great. Yet there has always been a fierce struggle for precedence among the bills of the common kind as distinguished from the privileged kind.

The first device for rescuing worthy measures from the crowd of the hopeless was the motion to suspend the rules fixing the order of business so as to enable the House to take up a particular bill. For obvious reasons it was established that such a motion should require a two-thirds vote. Even with that restriction the use of the motion became so great as to threaten to take all the time of

the House. So the motion to suspend the rules was limited to certain days, until now it is in order only on two days each month.

It is obvious that the motion to suspend the rules was an imperfect device.

A bill very important and desirable might be unable to command a two-thirds vote, although it could easily get a majority.

So the problem was to enable the House to rescue a worthy measure by a majority vote. It is obvious that if it was to be done by motion from the floor every member would be making the motion, and so the order of business would be abandoned in favor of mob order, wherein the only regulating force would be the autocratic recognitions of the Speaker. Even the motion to suspend the rules had once fallen into this sad condition.

It was a natural and reasonable idea to provide that a motion so liable to abuse should require the approval of a committee before it should be made on the floor. There had been a Committee on Rules since the earliest days of the House, of which the sole function had been to report a system of rules at the beginning of a Congress and amendments from time to time. And it was quite a natural thing that to this committee should be referred motions for the consideration of bills that seemed unlikely to be reached in the order fixed by the rules. The origin of this device dates back nearly if not quite twenty-five years. The House dropped into the practice quite naturally and unconsciously, and it was only when the existence of rampant obstruction caused the Committee on Rules to prescribe the method of consideration as well as to afford the opportunity for consideration that the House and the country became aware of the system.

Obstruction to Business.—While obstruction of business was the fashion of partisan warfare in the House the Committee on Rules would not only report a rule giving a bill a time for consideration, but would at the same time fix the length of debate and the time of voting. Since both political parties made use of drastic restrictive orders of this kind it is evident that they were considered necessary. In the present Congress such orders have been comparatively rare, and where they have appeared restrictive generally the provisions have been so liberal as to give ample time for consideration. The most elaborate restrictive order of the present Congress was that providing for the consideration of the bill for the government of the Philippine Islands; yet, in reality, it was so liberal that the House agreed to it by unanimous consent.

In conclusion, two facts should be remembered:

1. That the Committee on Rules recommends to the House, but does not dictate. It may propose a special order, but that order can be adopted only by a majority vote of the members of the House.

2. That the Committee on Rules officiates, and is expected to officiate, only in relation to a very small proportion of the total number of bills passed by the House.

In recent years the House in a Congress has passed about 2,200 bills. Of the 14,000 or more bills introduced the various committees of the House report about 2,800, and these go to the calendars or docket. Fully 2,000 of them are private bills, in order for consideration on Fridays, and no one has ever expected the Committee on Rules to assist them. They come up in their own right for consideration. About 365 are public bills not requiring appropriation of money, which are in order in the first portion of a period called the morning hour, but not limited to sixty minutes. It is never expected that the Committee on Rules shall assist these bills, as they reach consideration readily in the regular order.

There remain, then, about 375 bills which go to the so-called Union Calendar. It is because of these bills that the criticisms of the Committee on Rules mainly arise. It is difficult to take up a bill on the Union Calendar unless it is privileged. About 25 of them are privileged, but there remain 350 in a position of difficulty. A few of them are of general public importance, but the greater number are really of local interest much desired by the constituents of certain members, but not generally objects of interest to the people of the whole country.

Any one of these 350 bills may be reached in the regular order of business without the aid of the Speaker or the Committee on Rules, because in the second period of the morning hour a motion to go to the Union Calendar to consider one or all of them may be made, and there is no doubt that the Speaker must entertain it. The motion once made may be carried by a majority vote.

Privileged Bills.—It may be objected that the multitude of privileged bills in fact keeps the House from the morning period, and thus causes its advantages to be nominal rather than real. But the House may at any time, through the nondebatable question of consideration, set aside privileged matters by Majority vote, and then the morning period results automatically.

That the House may thus at any time take up for consideration any bill before it, without assistance or even consent from the Speaker or Committee on Rules, shows that the committee is not actually a parliamentary dictatorship but a convenience, more reasonable and useful than the motion to suspend the rules.

When the critics of the Rules Committee are confronted with such a presentation of the case they reply, "True, but the bills in which we are interested are not such as to cause the House to sidetrack the appropriation bills in order to consider them. So we are helpless unless the Rules Committee assist us." But should the

Rules Committee be expected to assist in displacing great public measures in order to forward legislation in which the House—and presumably the country also—takes so little interest?

In a Congress about 125 of the 350 nonprivileged Union Calendar bills are considered without aid from the Committee on Rules. About 25 are aided by that committee, and about 200 are left among the thousand or more reported bills that the House fails to reach.

The 12,000 bills not reported by committees are not expected to be considered in the House, and the Committee on Rules is not to be criticised on account of them. Their status of hopelessness dates far back to a period long before the present functions of that committee began.

So it may be claimed fairly and without fear of contradiction, that the criticisms of the Committee on Rules for not bringing bills to the consideration of the House arises because of the 200 Union Calendar bills which fail. Any one of these bills might be passed in the regular order if a majority of the House could be induced to take interest in it. That being impossible, the member interested in the bill importunes the Committee on Rules to use their machinery to give his measure an easy launching. But the Speaker and his four associates on the committee are exercising a public trust for the general benefit, and it is their duty to weigh the measure well before assisting it.

A man does not have to be a philosopher, or even to have lived long in the world, to realize that a committee which has to say no to so many must, from time to time, be made the target of bitter criticism. That such criticism is not founded on justice seems to be proven amply by the fact that in ten years no serious attempt has been made in the House either to abolish or modify the functions of the committee.

There must be no scuttle policy.—President McKinley to Notification Committee, July 12, 1900.

The people are doing business on business principles, and should be let alone—encouraged rather than hindered in their efforts to increase the trade of the country and find new and profitable markets for their products.—President McKinley, at Richmond, Va., October 31, 1899.

Our flag is there—rightfully there; as rightfully there as the flag that floats above me is here; and it is there, not as the flag of tyranny or as the symbol of slavery, but it is there for what it is here and for what it is everywhere—justice and liberty and right and civilization.—President McKinley, at Warren, Ohio, October 18, 1899.

IRRIGATION.

A NEW POLICY AND A NEW LAW TO AID IN RECLAIMING THE ARID LANDS OF THE WEST.

The Republican party in its National Convention in 1900 recommended adequate national legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective States and Territories.

President Roosevelt, in his first message to the Fifty-seventh Congress, elaborated this declaration of his party convention, and the Congress acted on both these recommendations by enacting the first legislation for the reclamation of arid lands that has ever been placed on the statute books. It is a law designed to continue and enlarge the possibilities of that early policy of the Republican party in providing homesteads for those willing to till the soil and carve homes out of the public domain. No acts of the Government have done more to build up the great West and develop agriculture to keep pace with the great industrial development in the cities than have the homestead laws. They have given the country a mighty empire of the most progressive and enlightened farmers in the world in that territory which formed the first great annexation to the United States. But the lands suitable for homesteads in the humid region are gone; and in the arid and semiarid regions of the West, while there are millions of acres left in the public domain, there must be some central power to aid in reclaiming the land that the settler may live and convert that region into a habitable and prosperous farming country. The bill passed by Congress seeks to do this. In the first place the act provides that the proceeds from the sale of public lands in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming, less the amounts earned by the registers and receivers of land offices and the 5 per cent due the States, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, shall be set aside as a special fund in the Treasury to be called the reclamation fund, to be used in the examination, survey, construction, and maintenance of irrigation works.

Unreserved public lands in the States and Territories named become the basis of the fund, according to the terms of the amount to about 535,000,000 acres. The proceeds from the sale of lands for the two fiscal years, 1901 and 1902, which will be available, will aggregate something over \$6,000,000—a fair sum with

which to begin work—and it is estimated that the immediate annual income under the provisions of the bill will be from \$2,500,000 to \$3,000,000. To be more accurate, the annual income under the bill for the past three years would have been \$2,633,198; the respective amounts for the various States and Territories named in the bill during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1901, have been as follows:

State or Territory.	Fiscal year.	Receipts.	State or Territory.	Fiscal year.	Receipts.
Arizona	1901	\$42,586.16	North Dakota	1901	\$449,025.43
California	1901	205,080.40	Oklahoma	1901	870,427.13
Colorado	1901	252,277.00	Oregon	1901	864,761.47
Idaho	1901	206,449.94	South Dakota	1901	118,475.22
Kansas	1901	20,182.22	Utah	1901	98,829.22
Montana	1901	367,180.10	Washington	1901	257,046.22
Nebraska	1901	103,040.49	Wyoming	1901	206,868.87
Nevada	1901	9,008.61			
New Mexico	1901	75,091.88	Total	1901	3,140,725.31

The proceeds from the sales of public lands for the fiscal year 1901 were considerably higher than that for 1900, and the receipts for 1900 nearly a million higher than for 1899. The probability is that 1901 marked very nearly the high-water mark of public-land sales, and that the proceeds from the sales of public lands in the future will rather diminish than increase until such time as, under the operation of the bill, payments begin to be made on irrigated lands, and from that time on receipts will increase as lands are irrigated and sold.

Section 2 of the law provides for the making of surveys and examinations of proposed works and for report to Congress relative to same. Section 3 provides for withdrawal from public entry of lands required for any of the irrigation works and also for withdrawal, except from homestead entry of all lands to be irrigated. Section 4 provides for the construction of the works and for the apportioning of the cost of construction among the users of water upon the lands to be irrigated. Section 5 requires the entryman to irrigate his land, defines the terms and conditions under which land in private ownership may be irrigated, and of the conditions of payments imposed on the settler on public lands and the water user on private lands. Section 6 provides for the form of local control and care of works by the settlers common in the irrigated country. Section 7 provides means for acquiring lands and water rights where same may be necessary.

Section 8 follows the well-established precedent in national legislation of recognizing local and State laws relative to the appropriation and distribution of water, and instructs the Secretary of the Interior in carrying out the provisions of the act to conform to these laws. This section also clearly recognizes the rule

of prior appropriation which prevails in the arid region and, what is highly important, specifies the character of the water right which is provided for under the provisions of the act. Section 9 declares a policy of systematic and harmonious development of the irrigation possibilities of the arid region.

In his message, President Roosevelt said on this question:

"The pioneer settlers on the arid public domain chose their homes along streams from which they could themselves divert the water to reclaim their holdings. Such opportunities are practically gone. There remain, however, vast areas of public land which can be made available for homestead settlement, but only by reservoirs and main-line canals impracticable for private enterprise. These irrigation works should be built by the National Government. The lands reclaimed by them should be reserved by the Government for actual settlers, and the cost of construction should so far as possible be repaid by the land reclaimed. The distribution of the water, the division of the streams among irrigators, should be left to the settlers themselves in conformity with State laws and without interference with those laws or with vested rights. The policy of the National Government should be to aid irrigation in the several States and Territories in such manner as will enable the people in the local communities to help themselves, and as will stimulate needed reforms in the State laws and regulations governing irrigation.

"The reclamation and settlement of the arid lands will enrich every portion of our country, just as the settlement of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys brought prosperity to the Atlantic States. The increased demand for manufactured articles will stimulate industrial production, while wider home markets and the trade of Asia will consume the larger food supplies, and effectually prevent Western competition with Eastern agriculture. Indeed, the products of irrigation will be consumed chiefly in upbuilding local centers of mining and other industries, which would otherwise not come into existence at all. Our people as a whole will profit, for successful home-making is but another name for the upbuilding of the nation.

* * * * *

"Whatever the nation does for the extension of irrigation should harmonize with and tend to improve the condition of those now living on irrigated land. We are not at the starting point of this development. Over two hundred millions of private capital has already been expended in the construction of irrigation works, and many million acres of arid land reclaimed. A high degree of enterprise and ability has been shown in the work itself; but as *much can not* be said in reference to the laws relating thereto."

In forty years of unwearying effort the American pioneer has irrigated in this region about 7,500,000 acres of land. The acreage under irrigation at this time in the States and Territories affected by the bill is approximately as follows:

Irrigated acreage by States and Territories.

	Acres.		Acres.
Arizona	185,396	North Dakota	5,202
California	1,446,119	Oregon	388,198
Colorado	1,611,271	Oklahoma	2,761
Idaho	602,548	South Dakota	43,010
Kansas	26,497	Utah	629,273
Montana	970,231	Washington	135,936
Nebraska	148,538	Wyoming	606,942
Nevada	504,168		
New Mexico	204,508	Total	7,510,598

As to the amount of land which may ultimately be reclaimed by irrigation estimates vary from 35,000,000 to 70,000,000 acres.

We now, almost for the first time in our history, know no North, no South, no East, no West, but are all for a common country.—President McKinley, at Yankton, S. Dak., October 14, 1899.

No imperial designs lurk in the American mind. They are alien to American sentiment, thought, and purpose. Our priceless principles undergo no change under a tropical sun. They go with the flag.—President McKinley, at Boston, February 16, 1899.

We are in the Philippines. Our flag is there; our boys in blue are there. They are not there for conquest; they are not there for dominion. They are there because in the providence of God, who moves mysteriously, that great archipelago has been placed in the hands of the American people.—President McKinley, at Youngstown, Ohio, October 18, 1899.

In the Philippines we have brought peace, and we are at this moment giving them such freedom and self-government as they could never under any conceivable conditions have obtained had we turned them loose to sink into a welter of blood and confusion, or to become the prey of some strong tyranny without or within. The bare recital of the facts is sufficient to show that we did our duty; and what prouder title to honor can a nation have than to have done its duty? We have done our duty to ourselves, and we have done the higher duty of promoting the civilization of mankind.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

PENSIONS AND PENSION LAW.

REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE NATION'S DEFENDERS.

It is an old saying that republics are ungrateful, but the reverse of this venerable maxim is established by the record of the Republican party in its treatment of the nation's defenders.

While the war of the rebellion was in progress it enacted that celebrated law, the act of July 14, 1862, which made what was then considered most ample and beneficent provisions for soldiers and sailors disabled in the service, and for their widows and dependents in case of their death.

But this great party, mindful of its promises to those who so gallantly went to the front in the dark days of 1861-'65, was not satisfied that this act fully acquitted the nation of its obligations, and ever since the close of the war it has been amplifying its scope, increasing the rates of pensions, providing National Homes for the veterans, artificial limbs for those who had lost these members, or money commutation therefor, giving them preference in appointments to Government positions, culminating in the act of June 27, 1890, which pensions all ex-soldiers and sailors (who had served 90 days) who are even partially incapacitated from earning a support by manual labor, without requiring that such inability should be shown to be due to the service. Their widows and dependents are also provided for by this act and its amendment of May 9, 1900.

These generous enactments were all passed by Republican Congresses, approved by Republican Presidents, and liberally carried out by Republican Administrations. They were, as the records will show, invariably opposed by the Democratic minority, the total votes on fourteen of the most important pension measures introduced since the war being recorded as follows:

Democrats for the bills	417
Democrats against the bills	648
Republicans for the bills	1,068
Republicans against the bills	None

As further evidence of Democratic hostility to this generous policy it may be noted that during the last Democratic Administration a board of revision was established in the Pension Bureau to revise the allowances made under the act of June 27, 1890. During the two years of its existence 8,694 pensioners were dropped from the rolls, and 23,702 pensions were reduced. A large number of these have since been restored under Republican Administrations.

Act of May 9, 1900.—Under the operations of the act of June 27, 1890, many worthy claimants, especially soldiers' widows, were debarred from the benefits which it was thought would be conferred upon them by its provisions. The act was not specific as to the exact meaning of the term "dependent" as applied to widows, and while, if literally construed, it would debar all widows who had any income whatever, the Department extended its benefits to all whose income, aside from their own labor, was not more than about what the pension would be, say \$96 per annum. To fully carry out the original intention of the law, the act of May 9, 1900, was passed providing that if the net income, aside from the proceeds of her own labor, of a soldier's widow does not exceed \$250 per annum she shall be pensionable. This action was recommended by President McKinley, his Secretary of the Interior, and the Commissioner of Pensions, and has resulted in placing upon the rolls the names of many thousands of most deserving women whom the nation should delight to honor as the living representatives of her dead heroes.

The total number of beneficiaries under the act of June 27, 1890, and its amendment, was on June 30, 1901, 583,225, of whom 438,114 were ex-soldiers and 145,111 widows, minor children, and dependents. There have been since added (to May 31, 1902), 13,114 soldiers and 15,579 widows, etc., making the total number allowed under this act at this date, June 1, 1902, 611,918.

Among the more recent enactments for the benefit of soldiers' widows is the—

Act of March 3, 1901.—Which provides that any widow, who was the wife of an officer or enlisted man in the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps during his service in any war, and had been pensioned because of his death from disability incurred in the service, and whose name had been subsequently dropped from the rolls because of her remarriage, shall be entitled to restoration upon proof of the death (or divorce upon her application) of the second husband, provided that she is now dependent.

This law, so equitable in its provisions and guarding so strictly against any possible abuse of its benefits by persons not entitled thereto, will restore to the rolls the names of many thousands of aged survivors of dead soldiers.

SOME PENSION STATISTICS.

The total number of pensioners on the rolls on June 30, 1901, was—

Civil war: Invalids, widows, etc., under all laws.....	970,352
War with Spain: Invalids, widows, etc.....	5,604
Old wars, Mexican, Indian, 1812, and Revolutionary.....	21,779
<i>Total</i>	997,735

There have been since added to the rolls, up to May 31, 1902, the following:

Civil war and old wars: Invalids, widows, etc.....	35,986	
War with Spain	3,841	39,827
Total		1,037,562
Add the estimated original allowances for June, 1902.....		4,000
Grand total		1,041,562

From this must be deducted the losses to the roll during the fiscal year, the exact number of which is not at present available. Averaging this item on the basis of the last seven years, however, it is estimated that the loss to the roll from deaths, remarriages, children becoming of age, etc., will be 44,000.

Grand total	1,041,562
Less	44,000

Leaving on the rolls June 30, 1902..... 997,562

The total number of pension certificates issued during the eleven months from July 1, 1901, to May 31, 1902, was 107,820, of which 67,777 were increases and reissues of various kinds. Estimating the allowances for June at 12,000, the total number of certificates issued in the year ending June 30, 1901, will reach 119,820, a gain of more than 10,000 over last year.

The amount paid for pensions in the fiscal year ending

June 30, 1901, was	\$138,531,483.84
The annual value of the roll was	131,568,216.00

The annual value of each pension was:

General law	\$168.67
Act of June 27, 1890	108.09
War with Spain	153.50

The figures for the current year can not be made up until the accounts are balanced, but the variation will be small.

The total amount paid out for pensions from July 1, 1865, to June 30, 1901, was \$2,666,904,589.23.

The following is a list of invalid pensioners on the roll June 30, 1901, and the rates per month provided by the general law:

2,011.....	\$72.00	2,404.....	\$25.00
1,173.....	50.00	22,665.....	24.00
2,078.....	45.00	2,652.....	22.00
2,491.....	36.00	4,447.....	20.00
15,206.....	30.00	39,000.....	17.00
923.....	27.00	10,998.....	16.00

Considerably over 100,000 ex-soldiers are receiving the higher rates of pension.

Of invalid pensioners under the act of June 27, 1890, 151,572 were receiving the maximum rate of \$12.00 per month, a number largely in excess of those pensioned at any of the lesser rates.

The number of pending claims on hand June 30, 1901, was 403,569, of which 33,541 were on account of the war with Spain. Deducting the allowances during the year, 119,820, there would be left of these 283,749.

The number received during the same period will probably largely exceed the allowances. They are mostly for increase and reissues of various kinds, and are being disposed of as current work.

An interesting fact is that in 675 original claims allowed during the year ended June 30, 1901, the first payments aggregated \$1,010,699.20, an average of nearly \$1,500 in each case.

During that year the Topeka (Kan.) pension agency paid out over \$16,000,000; quite a factor in the prosperity of that State and the adjacent territory.

To expedite the settlement of claims and to reduce to a minimum the unavoidable delay in their adjudication, Congress has been appealed to to provide additional clerical help. Twenty-four additional special examiners have been authorized for the ensuing year, which will secure the adjudication of fully 3,000 more claims in that period. An addition of 23 examiners has also been made to the board of pension appeals of the Interior Department, thus materially assisting in securing the prompt consideration of rejected claims appealed by the claimants to the Department.

The future is now our field; let us look to it; it opens with glorious possibilities and invites the party of ideas to enter and possess it.—Major McKinley, at Dayton, Ohio, October 18, 1887.

It is not a good time for the liberator to submit important questions concerning liberty and government to the liberated while they are engaged in shooting down their rescuers.—President McKinley, at Boston, February 16, 1899.

We will not take down that flag, representing liberty to the people, representing civilization to those islands; we will not withdraw it, because the territory over which it floats is ours by every tenet of international law and by the sacred sanction of a treaty made in accordance with the Constitution of the United States.—President McKinley, at Waterloo, Iowa, October 16, 1899.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY.

DUE TO REPUBLICAN LEGISLATION AND ADMINISTRATION.

Rural free delivery, that is to say the delivery of mails and newspapers to the farmers at or near their door yards, is distinctly a Republican measure. If the Republican party had not been restored to control of the National Government by the election of 1896, this wholesome product of Republican development would have been strangled in its birth.

It is now sanctioned, tolerated, and even advocated by Democrats in and out of Congress, simply because, like the genii which the fisherman in Arabian Nights let out of the bottle, it has spread all over the land, and they can't get it back again into the bottle as they would like to do. Rural free delivery means death to Populism and Democracy. It carries light and education wherever it goes, and these are fatal to organized ignorance.

At every stage of this great movement, which, as our late lamented leader, President McKinley, in his last message to Congress, in December, 1900, said, is one which "ameliorates the isolation of farm life, conduces to good roads, quickens and extends the dissemination of general information, and is the most striking new development of the postal service." It met the stubborn opposition of the Democratic party and its leaders. It was an educational movement; therefore, they distrusted and condemned it.

Let the facts speak for themselves.

From 1885, when Grover Cleveland became the first Democratic President since Buchanan, to 1889, not a move was made to give delivery of mails to the farmers.

In 1889, when Benjamin Harrison became the Republican President, and John Wanamaker the Postmaster-General, the anomaly of giving all the postal facilities to the cities and none to the country was brought to the attention of Congress and the country. Mr. Wanamaker took up the fight for extended mail service in rural communities. He declared that our present postal system

"It takes pay," he said, "for delivering letters to them. It obliges people to go or send for mail, the winter or stormy season and for aged men of letters and periodicals (hardly less valuable post-office for long periods not called for.)"

attempted to break down the barrier which

divided town from country, which gave people in cities five or six deliveries a day, and people in the country none, by starting village free delivery. Upon his recommendation Congress made an appropriation to start an experimental village free-delivery service. The limitation of the law, which confined free delivery to cities of 10,000 population or \$10,000 gross postal receipts, was dropped, as an experiment, at certain designated points, and a village free delivery was inaugurated. The plan worked well from the start. Postmaster-General Wanamaker, after two years' trial, was able to report to Congress that the increased cost of the service was nearly, if not quite, met by the increased postal receipts, and that the benefits conferred upon the people more than justified the slight additional expenditure.

President Harrison was defeated for reelection by Mr. Cleveland and a Democratic Congress came into power. The very first postal appropriation bill passed by that Democratic Congress struck out the appropriation for experimental village free delivery.

Starved by Democrats.—Starved to death by Democrats. It was an educational factor which was dreaded and had to be suppressed.

Nevertheless, the plain people outside the "city folks" were not satisfied. They knew they paid their taxes, bore their full share in the support of the Government, and could not understand why they were so ruthlessly discriminated against in the matter of postal facilities. Some of them had obtained a little taste of John Wanamaker's village delivery, and they wanted it carried still further into the country. So they brought pressure to bear upon their Representatives in Congress with the result that in the appropriation bill for 1894 an item of \$10,000 was included for "experimental rural free delivery."

Mr. William S. Bissell, of Buffalo, was Postmaster-General at that time; Mr. Frank H. Jones was First Assistant Postmaster-General, and a Democratic Representative from North Carolina, Mr. John S. Henderson, was chairman of the Committee on the Post-Offices and Post-Roads of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Henderson, from his Post-Office Committee, immediately reported that rural free delivery was a scheme "impossible of execution, which would require an appropriation of at least \$20,000,000 to inaugurate it." Postmaster-General Bissell and his assistant, Mr. Jones, emphatically declared that "the Department would not be warranted in burdening the people with such a great expense."

In 1894 another \$10,000 was appropriated by Congress for the same purpose, to be available during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1895. Postmaster-General Bissell, in his report for that year, again declined to use the sum placed at his disposal for an experi-

mental test, stating that "the proposed plan of rural free delivery, if adopted, would result in an additional cost to the people of about \$20,000,000 for the first year," and that he did not believe the people were yet ready to involve themselves in such a large expenditure for the purpose.

A Senator from South Carolina, Mr. Tillman, went still further, and declared his opinion that the service would cost two hundred millions. He has since taken all this back, and admits that rural free delivery has proven the greatest blessing the farmer has ever enjoyed, and that it can be extended all over the well-settled sections of the United States at only a comparatively small increase over the service it supersedes.

While the Post-Office Department in Democratic hands was thus balking and obstructing rural delivery, the National Grange of Industry caught hold of the subject and brought such pressure to bear on their Representatives in Congress that another \$10,000 was appropriated for experimental rural free delivery for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1896. Again the Democratic administration ignored the call, and refused to use the money placed at its disposal, now amounting to \$30,000.

Next year Congress gathered together all three of the back appropriations and added \$10,000 more, thus making the total sum available for experimental rural free delivery \$40,000. Action could no longer be delayed; the pressure of the people was too great; and most reluctantly a half-hearted effort to start rural free delivery was made.

Penny Post Legislation.—In the meantime there had been some "side stepping" worthy of comment. Mr. N. D. Sperry, then as now an honored Republican Representative from the State of Connecticut, attempted to extend the delivery of mails to the farmers by another process, differing from the rural free delivery. He introduced a bill to revive the "penny post" system in towns, villages, and other places where no free delivery existed. His bill provided that on petition of not less than twenty persons the postmaster might appoint one or more carriers, who, on the written request of the addressees, should deliver their mails, receiving from them such compensation as might be agreed upon; or, in the absence of such agreement, might demand and receive not exceeding one cent for each letter or package delivered from or conveyed to the post-office. This bill passed both Houses of Congress. The Post-Office committees of House and Senate united in a report stating that this was a measure whose tendency would be to "elevate the standard of intelligence and promote the welfare of the people."

Grover Cleveland killed the bill by a silent veto—that is to say, he withheld his approval, and the bill died by constitutional limitation.

But the pressure from the “plain people” became so great that it could not be longer ignored, and in October, 1896, Mr. William L. Wilson, of West Virginia, being the Postmaster-General in succession to Mr. Bissell, of Buffalo, the experiment of rural free delivery was started.

But how? With the deliberate purpose of killing it. There is no doubt about this fact. The official records prove it.

“All the details in regard to the installation of the service (said First Assistant Postmaster-General Perry S. Heath, in his report to the Postmaster-General in 1898) were placed in the hands of officers of the ‘Division of Post-Office Inspection and Mail Depreciations.’ In order to perform this unwelcome and unappreciated service the inspectors were detached from other pressing duties, upon the successful performance of which (under the regulations of their division), their advancement in rank and pay to some extent depended. It is but just to say that they did the best they could under the circumstances. But they were hampered by orders which left them no discretion. They were instructed to start experimental tests of rural delivery in specifically named localities, no matter whether the conditions seemed to them favorable or otherwise. Some of them became impressed with the idea that the locations assigned them had been chosen to show that rural free delivery was not desired and was impossible of execution.”

Of the 44 selected routes over which the experimental test was made, some of them were deliberately laid out over territory where the people did not want the service and where the physical conditions were such that it cost over six cents for every piece of mail delivered.

Revived by Republicans.—Still the service would not “down,” and when, after the election of William McKinley, an appreciative Postmaster-General and First Assistant took charge of the Post-Office Department, rural free delivery moved forward with rapid strides. In the first year of their administration they increased the number of services from 44 to 148, and made so strong a showing to Congress in favor of the practicability of establishing rural free delivery as a permanent feature of postal administration that Congress increased the appropriations for this purpose to \$150,000 in 1899; to \$450,000 in 1900; to \$1,750,000 in 1901, and to approximately \$8,000,000 in 1902.

In 1898, when Mr. Charles Emory Smith became Postmaster-General, the experimental routes then established served a population

of 60,499, covered a territory of 1,911 square miles, employed 1,300 carriers, who averaged a trip of 20 miles per day, and received a salary of \$300. The number of pieces delivered was 2,753,581.

In January, 1902, when Mr. Smith retired from the office of Postmaster-General, there were employed 7,000 rural carriers, covering a territory of more than 250,000 square miles and serving a population of about 4,500,000. The number of pieces delivered in the previous fiscal year had amounted to 151,259,160.

At the present time there are nearly ten thousand rural routes in operation, and the service is no longer called "experimental." It has been formally embodied into the general postal system. The pay of carriers has been raised to \$600 a year. Gradually but surely the time is coming when every city or town of 5,000 inhabitants will have city free delivery, and all the rest of the country will be covered by rural free delivery. And for this great boon to the farmers the Republican party alone is to be thanked.

American wage-workers work with their heads as well as their hands. Moreover, they take a keen pride in what they are doing; so that, independent of the reward, they wish to turn out a perfect job. This is the great secret of our success in competition with the labor of foreign countries.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

Our flag is there, not as the symbol of oppression, not as the token of tyranny, not as the emblem of enslavement, but representing there, as it does here, liberty, humanity, and civilization.—President McKinley, at Youngstown, Ohio, October 18, 1899.

The Philippines are ours, and American authority must be supreme throughout the archipelago. There will be amnesty broad and liberal, but no abatement of our rights; no abandonment of our duty.—President McKinley to Notification Committee, July 12, 1900.

That the Army is not at all a mere instrument of destruction has been shown during the last three years. In the Philippines, Cuba, and Porto Rico it has proved itself a great constructive force, a most potent implement for the upbuilding of a peaceful civilization.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

CHINESE EXCLUSION.

THE EXCLUSION LAWS REENACTED TO KEEP OUT CHINESE LABORERS.

The last Congress reenacted practically in their entirety the Chinese exclusion acts. This action was taken in response to a general demand upon the part of the people (and especially from the labor element) that all Chinese, barring certain excepted classes, be prohibited from admission to this country. The law as it now stands and is being administered by the Treasury Department prevents the coming of all Chinese laborers to this country. The excepted classes are bona fide merchants, officials, teachers, students or travelers for pleasure or curiosity. All other Chinese are entirely prohibited from admission to the United States or any of its insular possessions. The law also prohibits the emigration of Chinese laborers from the island territory to the mainland territory of the United States, and from one portion of the island territory of the United States to another portion of said island territory. The new law provides for the registering of all Chinese laborers in Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands. The rules and regulations that have been enacted and enforced by the Treasury Department under previous Chinese exclusion laws are still in force, and the Department is constantly increasing and improving the Chinese service. Very rigid measures have been taken to prevent an abuse of the transit privilege. By the laws and treaties Chinese have been allowed to pass through the country under certain regulations to insure their continuous passage to foreign territory. It became apparent some time ago that this transit privilege was being abused, and that Chinese were seeking passage through our territory, principally to Mexico, with a view to returning to the United States. Orders were issued by the Treasury Department to carefully examine all transit cases, and, unless persons applying for transit privileges could establish beyond reasonable doubt their good faith they were refused landing. The number of Chinese residing in the country is constantly decreasing. Many of those who were here have gone back to China, and the number coming is comparatively small. Cases of Chinamen getting into the country surreptitiously are not infrequent, but the numbers are not great, and many of those, after getting here, are apprehended and deported. Under the present laws and their vigilant enforcement there is little to fear from the competition of Chinese labor.

INSULAR TERRITORIES.

PORTO RICO, HAWAII, AND SAMOA.

Since the beginning of the Administration of President McKinley Hawaii has been annexed and created into a territory of the United States; Porto Rico has been ceded by Spain and given a territorial government; the Island of Guam has been ceded to and become territory of the United States, and the tripartite agreement with Germany and England regarding Samoa has been superseded by another agreement by virtue of which England retired from the islands and both powers renounced in favor of the United States all their rights and claims in the group, embracing the islands of Tutuila, Ofoo, Oloſenga, and Manua. The United States has therefore secured through Republican Administration the gate to the Caribbean Sea, the "rich half-way station" in the Pacific, and naval bases in the southeastern Pacific Ocean.

These island possessions are all of commercial advantage to the United States, but they were not sought or acquired for that reason. Hawaii, after a short experiment as an independent Republic, sought annexation and was accepted by joint resolution passed by Congress. Porto Rico came as an incident of the war with Spain, as did Guam, and the acquisition of the Island of Tutuila, with its fine harbor at Pago Pago, was due to wise adjustment of entangling diplomatic arrangements with England and Germany to guarantee the neutrality of the Samoan Islands. Hawaii was annexed in 1898, and created into the Territory of Hawaii by the act of April 30, 1900, which provided a territorial form of government for the islands.

Hawaii and Porto Rico have both been political issues in the past. They have ceased to be since the Republican policy has been demonstrated as successful in each. The last Democratic Administration opposed the annexation of Hawaii, and withdrew the treaty which had been agreed upon and submitted to the Senate by President Harrison on February 15, 1893, and favorably reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations of that body. Three days after his inauguration President Cleveland withdrew that treaty and appointed James H. Blount, of Georgia, as a "paramount commissioner" to the Hawaiian Islands, giving him rank above the minister of the United States in Honolulu. The next December President Cleveland sent a message to Congress announcing his *intention of restoring* Liliuokalani to the throne. President Dole,

of the provisional government in Hawaii, refused to comply with the wishes of President Cleveland for the restoration of the former Queen, and the proposition was met with such indignation in the United States that it was abandoned. The Republic of Hawaii continued to exist as an independent government until Congress, in 1899, provided by joint resolution for the annexation sought. In April, 1900, by act of Congress, the Constitution and all the laws of the United States not locally inapplicable were extended and Hawaii established as a territory, with a legislature and a delegate in Congress.

Porto Rico ceased to be a political issue with the decision of the Supreme Court sustaining the Foraker Act under which the territory was organized, and 15 per cent of the Dingley tariff rates kept to provide revenues for the territorial government. There has not been a political ripple regarding Porto Rico since that decision, and President Roosevelt, in his message to Congress last December, said: "It is a pleasure to say that it is hardly more necessary to report as to Porto Rico than as to any State or Territory within our continental limits. The island is thriving as never before, and it is being administered efficiently and honestly. Its people are now enjoying liberty and order under the protection of the United States, and upon this fact we congratulate them and ourselves."

George Allen, in his report in 1901, showed that the Territory of Porto Rico had half a million dollars on hand, had enacted local revenue laws to take the place of the 15 per cent tariff to provide for free trade with the United States, and was enjoying peace and prosperity. So closed the Porto Rican incident, which was elaborated into a political issue by the Democrats in 1900. It closed with the full approval of the Republican policy by the Supreme Court and by the results of Republican legislation in Porto Rico.

Not a blow has been struck except for liberty and humanity and none will be; we will perform without fear every national and international obligation.—President McKinley to Notification Committee, July 12, 1900.

Barbarism has and can have no place in a civilized world. It is our duty toward the people living in barbarism to see that they are freed from their chains, and we can only free them by destroying barbarism itself. The missionary, the merchant, and the soldier may each have to play a part in this destruction, and in the consequent uplifting of the people.—Theodore Roosevelt, *in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.*

DANISH WEST INDIES.

DESIRABLE NAVAL AND COALING STATIONS.

The Danish West Indies should now be territory of the United States but for the attempt of the Democratic leader in the House of Representatives to connect a scandal with the transfer. An investigation by the House resulted in showing that Mr. Richardson, of Tennessee, had been the victim of his own suspicions and the complaints of a man who was attempting to secure a commission from the Government of Denmark for the sale of the islands. That was all, but it was enough to create a faction in the Danish Parliament and prevent the ratification of the treaty which was negotiated in Washington, January 24, 1902, and ratified by unanimous vote of the United States Senate February 17. It was a month later, March 27, that Mr. Richardson sprung his sensation in the House which demanded an investigation that resulted in showing absolutely false all the charges of Captain Christmas to the effect that he had negotiated the sale of the islands for Denmark by bribery. But these charges were made public at the time the treaty was before the Danish Parliament, and they resulted in delaying the ratification which is still pending. The life of the treaty has been extended until July 24, 1903, to allow the Danish Parliament time to fully investigate all the charges made as to agents and the promise of commissions by that Government before the treaty is ratified.

By this treaty Denmark agrees to cede to the United States the islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix in the West Indies, with the adjacent islands, comprising all title and claim to territory in the West Indies by the Crown of Denmark. It conveys to the United States the absolute fee and ownership of all public, Government or Crown lands, public buildings, ports, harbors, fortifications, barracks, and all other public property of every kind belonging to the Government of Denmark. The Danish subjects residing in the islands may remain or remove therefrom, retaining in either event all their rights of property. They may retain their allegiance to Denmark by making declaration of that purpose within two years from the date of exchange of ratifications. The civil rights and the political status of the inhabitants shall be determined by Congress.

The United States agrees to pay the sum of \$5,000,000 for these islands.

The island of St. Thomas lies about 36 miles east of Porto Rico, St. John being immediately east of St. Thomas. St. Croix is about 40 miles south of St. Thomas, in the Caribbean Sea. St. Thomas is

the most important island of the group, because it is an important coaling station and depot of trade, and because it has one of the finest harbors in the West Indies. The island is 12 miles long and from 1 to 3 miles wide. It has a population of 10,886. The only article of export is bay rum.

The island of St. John is 8 miles long, and has an area of about 40 square miles. Its population is less than 1,000. St. Croix is the largest of the islands, and 19 miles long, with an area of 51,890 acres, of which 16,000 acres are devoted to the cultivation of sugar. The exports of the island in 1898 amounted to \$550,000 in value.

The United States first attempted to purchase these islands in 1865 during the Administration of President Lincoln. Secretary Seward was desirous of purchasing them, and in 1866 made a definite offer of \$3,000,000 for the islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz.

In 1867 Denmark declined to sell the islands for \$5,000,000, but offered St. Thomas and St. John for \$10,000,000, or \$15,000,000 for the three. Mr. Seward replied by offering \$7,500,000 in gold for the three islands. Denmark offered to take that sum for St. Thomas and St. John. Finally Secretary Seward offered to purchase St. Thomas and St. John for \$7,500,000, but further complications arose because Denmark insisted that the consent of the people in the islands should be given before the sale was consummated. That was conceded, and the treaty was negotiated and ratified by the Rigsdag of Denmark, but was not reported to the United States Senate by the Committee on Foreign Relations for two years, and was then reported adversely, and the Senate refused to ratify it.

Secretaries Foster and Olney, under the Harrison and Cleveland Administrations, had diplomatic correspondence regarding the purchase of these islands, and in March, 1898, a bill was reported to the Senate from the Committee on Foreign Relations authorizing the President to purchase them. The bill was not acted upon. In his report on the bill for the purchase of the islands in 1898, Senator Lodge said:

"The arguments in favor of the possession of these islands can be briefly stated, and appear to the undersigned to be unanswerable. So long as these islands are in the market there is always the danger that some European power may purchase or try to purchase them. This would be an infraction of the Monroe Doctrine, and would at once involve the United States in a very serious difficulty with the European power which sought possession of the islands. In the interest of peace, it is of great importance that these islands should pass into the hands of the United States and cease to be a possible source of foreign complications, which might easily lead to war.

"From a military point of view the value of these islands to the

United States can hardly be overestimated. We have always been anxious to have a good naval and coaling station in the West Indies. Important in time of peace, such a station would be essential to our safety in time of war. Successive Administrations have labored to secure a West Indian naval station. During the war of the rebellion the United States leased the harbor of St. Nicholas from Haiti for this purpose. General Grant endeavored, during his Presidency, to secure Samana Bay. The effort to obtain the Danish Islands, as has been shown, was begun by Mr. Seward during the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln. The fine harbor of St. Thomas fulfills all the required naval and military conditions.

"As has been pointed out by Captain Mahan, it is one of the great strategic points in the West Indies. The population of the three islands is only 33,000, of whom nearly 30,000 are negroes, the others being chiefly of English or Danish extraction. There is no possibility of any material increase in the population, and annexation would never involve at any time the troublesome question of Statehood. The Danish Islands could easily be governed as a Territory—could be readily defended from attack, occupy a commanding strategic position, and are of incalculable value to the United States, not only as a part of the national defense, but as removing by their possession a very probable cause of foreign complications."

Let me insist again, for fear of possible misconstruction, upon the fact that our duty is two-fold, and that we must raise others while we are benefiting ourselves. In bringing order to the Philippines, our soldiers added a new page to the honor roll of American history, and they incalculably benefited the islanders themselves. Under the wise administration of Governor Taft the islands now enjoy a peace and liberty of which they have hitherto never even dreamed.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

Throughout a large part of our national career our history has been one of expansion, the expansion being of different kinds at different times. This expansion is not a matter of regret, but of pride. It is vain to tell a people as masterful as ours that the spirit of enterprise is not safe. The true American has never feared to run risks when the prize to be won was of sufficient value.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The Republican platform of 1900 said: "We commend the policy of the Republican party in the efficiency of the civil service. The Administration has acted wisely in its efforts to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these territories should be confined as far as possible to their inhabitants."

President McKinley and President Roosevelt in their Administrations followed this guiding principle, and sought to make the civil service a practical illustration of the merit system. The Republican party has given hearty support to the civil-service law, and President Roosevelt, through his experience as a member of the Civil Service Commission, knows its practical benefits and the failure of theoretical efforts in regard to the civil service.

There has been no sham or humbug about the enforcement of the law since the Republican party succeeded to the administration of the Government. The last Democratic Administration used this civil-service law as an excuse to protect its appointees to office, by placing a large number of places in the classified service just before the change of Administration. President McKinley frankly informed Congress that he would exempt some of these places. He said in his message to the Fifty-seventh Congress, "There are places now in the classified service which ought not to be exempted and others not classified may properly be included. I shall not hesitate to exempt cases which I think have been improperly included in the classified service or include those which, in my judgment, will best promote the public service."

In other words, President McKinley did not propose to throw upon any law or system the responsibility belonging to the President for an efficient and honest public service. McKinley changed its rules. He did exempt places which could not be filled by competitive examination, and he placed in the classified service other places.

He promulgated an order May 29, 1899, in which he exempted from the classified service certain places involving fiduciary responsibilities or duties strictly confidential, scientific, or executive in character, which could be better filled either by non-competitive examinations or in the discretion of the appointing officers. Other places were transferred to the classified lists.

President Roosevelt has followed the same rule. In his message to the Fifty-seventh Congress he said: "The merit system of making appointments is in its essence as democratic and American as the common school system itself. It simply means that in clerical and other positions, where the duties are entirely non-political, all applicants should have a fair field and no favor, each standing on his merits as he is able to show them by a practical test. Written competitive examinations offer the only available means in many cases for applying this system. In other cases, as where laborers are employed, a system of registration undoubtedly can be widely extended. There are, of course, places where the written competitive examination can not be applied, and others where it offers by no means an ideal solution; but where, under existing political conditions it is, though an imperfect means, yet the best present means of getting satisfactory results."

The Administrations of McKinley and Roosevelt have both followed as far as practicable the policy of employing the inhabitants of territories in the public service there. But the main object has been an honest and efficient public service.

Shipping lines, if established to the principal countries with which we have dealings, would be of political as well as commercial benefit. From every standpoint it is unwise for the United States to continue to rely upon the ships of competing nations for the distribution of our goods. It should be made advantageous to carry American goods in American-built ships.—President Roosevelt, in Message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

In the Philippines let us remember that the spirit and not the mere form of government is the essential matter. The Tagalogs have a hundred-fold the freedom under us that they would have if we had abandoned the islands. We are not trying to subjugate a people; we are trying to develop them and make them a law-abiding, industrious, and educated people, and we hope, ultimately, a self-governing people.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

While the nation that has dared to be great, that has had the will and the power to change the destiny of the ages, in the end must die, yet no less surely the nation that has played the part of the weakling must also die; and, whereas the nation that has done nothing leaves nothing behind it, the nation that has done a great work really continues, though in changed form, forevermore.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

MR. HOAR AND THE KUKLUX OF 1902.

We have been asked several times within the past week to examine and consider seriously the main proposition of Senator Hoar's speech on Filipino liberty. This main proposition is that the Government of the United States has no right, in view of American principles, to impose a constitution or laws of our making upon a people unwilling to accept them; no right to govern without the consent of the governed.

The whole argument of the distinguished and respected statesman from Massachusetts reduces itself to the question of moral right. For this nation's legal power to enforce its will in the Philippines result necessarily from the sovereignty regularly and legitimately acquired from Spain. No sane person, whatever may be his opinion of the case in its ethical aspect, assails the technical legality of our sovereignty there.

The whole argument of Mr. Hoar also rests upon the assumption that the Filipinos—meaning a majority of them, of course—are unwilling to be governed by us or to submit to the authority of our flag. For if the Filipino people, or a majority of the same, are willing to be so governed, the protest and the oratory of Senator Hoar are manifestly superfluous. His assumption to the contrary is purely gratuitous. It is unwarranted by any evidence which the advocates of the withdrawal of the American flag and sovereignty from the islands have been able to present. The assumption of non-consent rests in its turn solely upon the individual belief or conjecture of certain worthy persons in Massachusetts and elsewhere, and upon the incidental circumstance that a relatively small part of the Filipinos scattered here and there in the islands are now in armed resistance—an insurrection which it is the unquestionable duty and business of this Government to put down.

But even if we should concede to Mr. Hoar's argument the correctness of this sweeping and absolutely unproven assumption that the insurgents represent the entire population of the Philippines or a majority of the same; if we should admit that our government of the Filipinos is government without the consent of the governed, what truth is there in his proposition that we have no moral right to govern them according to our legal power?

It has appeared to us that there can be no better answer to this than is afforded by the whole record of Mr. Hoar's utterances and votes in the House of Representatives during the Forty-first, Forty-

second, Forty-third, and Forty-fourth Congresses, and afterward in the United States Senate, on every question concerning the legal and moral right of the Federal Government to impose its will in legislation, sometimes exceedingly drastic even to the suppression of the writ of habeas corpus, upon the white citizens of the Southern States against their consent and in the face of their most vehement protests.

Where did the force bill of 1871 and subsequent legislation on the same line find a more zealous supporter than the Hon. George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts? Who was more frequently eloquent in demanding that the powers of the Federal Government be exercised in the South without regard to the consent of the governed? Who was more ingenious and persistent in detecting and exhibiting those Kuklux and Whitecap disorders, which he held to justify Federal interference to an extent which oppressed guilty and innocent alike? Who earned, in the seventies, a reputation more extensive than Mr. Hoar as a shaker of the "bloody shirt?"

And when, in August, 1876, a protest was made by the late Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar, of Mississippi, against all this government without the consent of the governed—a protest couched in language which, if it had come from Aguinaldo or Sixto Lopez, would have made Mr. Hoar's heart bleed at each sympathetic throb—who turned upon the Southerner with these reproachful words:

"The attempt of the Government of the United States to exercise its constitutional authority to preserve to the majority in any Southern State the right of free and fair elections is to him (Mr. Lamar) but the exertion of a hostile and alien power to keep down in the dust what he terms 'his people,' by which I suppose he means the white Democrats of the South. The murders and outrages committed upon weak, inoffending, defenseless American citizens are to him but the attempt of a downtrodden people to turn itself in its agony under the heel of an oppressor. * * * The vital difference between the gentleman and the Republican party is that he seems to think that the remedy for what he dislikes in government is resistance by force."

The statesman who pronounced this rebuke was the Hon. George F. Hoar, twenty-five years afterward the defender and champion, in the United States Senate, of the Kuklux infesting American territory in the Philippines.—*New York Sun*.

It is always safe to array yourself on the side of your country; it is always safe to stand against lawlessness and repudiation.—Major McKinley, at Canton, September 23, 1896.

DEMOCRATIC HARMONY.

CLEVELAND, BRYAN, AND WATTERSON ILLUSTRATE IT.

Democratic harmony has been the appealing cry of the various and antagonistic leaders of that party for two years. There are to-day three great Democratic leaders in the country whose position in the past and at the present time enable them to speak with some authority on the question of Democratic issues and Democratic candidates. They are Grover Cleveland, twice elected President and three times the candidate of his party; William Jennings Bryan, twice nominated for President by the Democratic party and the leader of that party on all the issues it now represents, and Henry Watterson, the brilliant editor of the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and the long recognized apostle and prophet of tariff reform, who guided President Cleveland in the preparation of his first free-trade message.

These three Democratic leaders have recently spoken plainly on the plan of Democratic harmony, and frankly regarding each other and the policies they represent. These three speeches are rare and valuable contributions to the political literature of the present time. They form a unique chapter in Democratic harmony.

Mr. Cleveland was the chief guest and speaker at the Tilden Club banquet in New York, June 18, 1902. His speech was as follows:

CLEVELAND FOR FREE TRADE.

"I have been urged to participate in this occasion by those who have assured me that this handsome structure is to be dedicated to-night to the rehabilitation and consolidation of the Democratic party under the inspiration of a name which during the days of Democratic strength and achievement was honored in every Democratic household. Such an assurance made to one who followed with hearty devotion the leadership of Samuel J. Tilden when living, and who has since found in his career and fame the highest incentive to Democratic steadfastness, could hardly fail to overcome the temptations of my contented retirement from political activity. Perhaps there are those who would define my position as one of banishment instead of retirement. Against this I shall not enter a protest. It is sufficient for me in either case that I have followed in matters of difference within our party the teachings and counsel of the great Democrat in whose name party peace and harmony

are to-night invoked. No confession of party sin should therefore be expected of me. I have none to make; nor do I crave political absolution.

"I am here to take counsel with others professing the same party faith concerning the Democratic situation. I suppose we all are convinced that this situation might be improved; and some of us may think it is perilously undermined. Whatever the measure of its impairment may be, our condition as an organization can not be improved by calling each other harsh names, nor by inaugurating a system of arbitrary proscription and banishment. The members of a business firm in financial embarrassment should not sit down and look into each other's faces in mute despair; neither will they regain financial soundness or the confidence of the business community by recrimination and quarrel; nor will any members of the firm aid in its restoration to solvent strength by an angry insistence upon a continuation of the business methods which have invited its embarrassments.

"The Democratic party is very far from political insolvency; but no one here should be offended by the suggestion that its capital and prospects have suffered serious injury since Mr. Tilden was elected President. Then and afterward Northern Democratic States were not rare curiosities; Northern Democratic Senators, now practically extinct, were quite numerous, and Northern Democratic governors, now almost never seen, were frequently encountered.

Longs for Old Democratic Ways.—"If this state of impairment exists, an instant duty presses upon the managers of the Democratic establishment, and one which they can not evade with honor. Those of us less prominent in the party—the rank and file—are longing to be led through old Democratic ways to old Democratic victories. We were never more ready to do enthusiastic battle than now if we can only be marshaled outside the shadow of predestined defeat. Is it too much to ask our leaders to avoid paths that are known to lead to disaster? Is it too much to ask that proven errors be abandoned and that we be delivered from a body of death and relieved from the burden of issues which have been killed by the decrees of the American people? Ought we not to be fed upon something better than the husks of defeat? If these questions are met in an honest, manly fashion, I believe it will be productive of the best kind of Democratic harmony.

"In dealing with new issues we of the Democratic faith are extremely fortunate in the simplicity of Democratic standards and the ease with which new questions can be measured by those standards. A party based upon care for the interests of all the people as their aggregate condition demands, with no unjust favoritism for any particular class; a party devoted to the plan of popular

government as our fathers ordained it and for the purposes which they sought to establish; a party whose conservatism opposes dangerous and un-American experiments, and yet puts no barrier in the way of genuine and safe progress, ought to be able to deal with new questions in a manner quite consistent with Democratic doctrine and stimulating to Democratic impulses and instincts.

"Let us not forget, however, that it is not in the search of new and gaudy issues nor in the interpretation of strange visions that a strong and healthy Democracy displays its splendid power. Another party may thrive on the ever-shifting treatment of the ever-shifting moods of popular restlessness, or by an insincere play upon unreasoning prejudice and selfish anticipation, but the Democratic party never. Democracy has already in store the doctrines for which it fights its successful battles, and it will have them in store as long as the people are kept from their own, and just as long as their rights and interests are sacrificed by favoritism in government care, by inequality in government burdens, by the encouragement of huge industrial aggregations that throttle individual enterprise, by the reckless waste of public money, and by the greatest of all injuries, as it underlies nearly all others—a system of tariff taxation whose robbing exactions are far beyond the needs of economical and legitimate government expenditure—which purchases support by appeals to sordidness and greed, and which continually corrupts the public conscience.

Infatuation with Defeat.—"What but infatuation with the visage of defeat can explain the subordination of these things by Democrats when they prepare for battle.

"If we are to have a rehabilitation and realignment of our party in the sense suggested, it is important that it be done openly and with no mystery or double meaning. Our people are too much on the alert to accept political deliverances they do not understand; and the enthusiasm of the Democratic rank and file does not thrive on mystery.

"The Democratic harmony of which we hear so much can not be effectively constructed by mathematical rule nor by a formal agreement on the part of those who have been divided that there shall be harmony. It grows up naturally when true Democratic principles are plainly announced, when Democratic purposes are honestly declared, and when, as a result of these, confidence and enthusiasm stir the Democratic blood. It was such harmony as this, growing out of such conditions, which, with the battle cry of 'Tilden and Reform,' gave us the Democratic victory of 1876 against odds great enough to discourage any but a harmonious Democracy and against an opposing force brazen and desperate

enough to take from us by downright robbery what the voters of the land gave to us.

"I believe the times point to another Democratic victory as near at hand; but I believe we shall reap the fruits of it only by following the line of conduct I have indicated. In any event, I have a comforting and abiding faith in the indestructibility of the party which has so many times shown its right to live and its power for good; and I am sure the reserve of patriotic Democratic wisdom will at some time declare itself in the rescue of our country and our party.

"My days of political activity are past, and I shall not hereafter assume to participate in party councils. I am absolutely content with retirement, but I still have one burning, anxious, political aspiration. I want to see before I die the restoration to perfect health and supremacy of that Democracy whose mission it is to bless the people—a Democracy true to itself, untroubled by clamor, unmoved by the gusts of popular passion, and uncorrupted by offers of strange alliance—the Democracy of patriotism, the Democracy of safety, the Democracy of Tilden, and the Democracy that deserves and wins success."

Mr. Watterson published the following editorial in the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, June 21, 1902. The heading is his own:

A DEATH'S HEAD AT THE FEAST.

"The Democratic party is not so rich either in leadership or in position of strategic advantage that it can afford to reject good counsels from any quarter, but surely it has the right to draw the line on Grover Cleveland.

"To Mr. Cleveland's insufficiency, to use no harsher term, it owes its undoing. The claim that he is the one man who has led it to a national victory in forty years falls to the ground when it is recalled that in 1884 he won the election by a doubtful margin in the State of New York, which he had carried the year before by a majority of nearly two hundred thousand; that, in 1888, he lost the election through his fatuous vanity and self-confidence; and that, in 1892, the Homestead riots, which transferred the vote of the labor unions bodily from the Republicans to the Democrats made the defeat of the Democratic ticket impossible. One star, at least, shone over Mr. Cleveland's cradle. He was born to good luck, and he was destined to be President.

"Mr. Cleveland's political stock in trade, his party trade-mark, so to say—since his tariff message of 1887—is the pretension that he has been, par excellence, true to the recognized tenets of revenue reform. As far as he understood them, he was from first to last *false to them*. If Mr. Gorman and Mr. Carlisle could be put on the

stand and be compelled to answer they would relate that within ten days after Mr. Cleveland sent the one document to Congress identifying himself with the free-trade wing of the party, he was preparing to emasculate it; and it is matter of record that he sent Gorman and Scott to St. Louis in 1888, with a cut-and-dried platform, ignoring his own message, ignoring the Mills bill, then before Congress, and repeating the straddle which, with General Butler on our flank and Mr. Randall on our back, we had been forced to make at Chicago in 1884.

Untrue to His Platform.—"But the story does not end here, for it is also of record that, in 1892, Mr. Cleveland sent seven members of his former Cabinet to Chicago, not merely to work for a nomination he pretended not to seek, but again to put him on a cut-and-dried platform, embodying as good Protectionist gospel as the Republicans themselves could reasonably desire; a platform so bad from the Democratic point of view that the convention rose upon its hind legs and pitched it out on the spur of the moment, adopting a tariff plank of its own. He sought, in his letter of acceptance, to qualify this tariff plank of the platform on which the convention that nominated him had placed him—there are those who say he did qualify it—but it is certain that, once again in the White House, he turned his back upon the tariff, sending it to the rear, and brought the money question to the front, precipitating a rancorous and ruinous party fight, so that, finally, when he reached the tariff the party was out at elbow and literally all fingers and thumbs. Then, obliged to do something, he caused a tariff bill to be prepared, not according to the instructions of the platform on which he was elected, not in conformity to the hopes and pledges of his party, but a ringed, streaked, and striped measure of quasi protection doomed in advance to hopeless, inglorious defeat. That at the last he refused to sign the act which came to him as a result of his own bungling, still juggling as a revenue reformer, would have been amusing if the situation had been less tragical, and was in the highest degree grotesque.

"Those who know him will not deny to Mr. Cleveland a personality all his own. He is a man of great force of will and dominancy of character. Democrats have a superstition in favor of what is called 'Jacksonian firmness.' Courage, indeed, is a popular attribute with all classes of the people. Mr. Cleveland has gained largely in popular favor by reason of the ascription of a sturdiness and integrity, which his panegyrists have assiduously cultivated. Neither his honesty nor his hardihood need be gainsaid, in order to prove his deficiency as a party leader—though both have been most violently assailed—and, having no personal ill-will to gratify at his expense, we shall not stop to inquire where the trophies of either may be

on exhibition. It is enough to declare that he found the party what Mr. Tilden had made it, a moral unit; a great, compact body of fighting men; and that, having twice betrayed it—we will not say consciously betrayed it—for his own selfish ends, he left it, leaderless and divided, to the mercy of the winds and waves of factionism, called into being by his own lack of generosity and foresight.

Stood in Middle of the Road.—"Even down to the Chicago convention of 1896 Mr. Cleveland stood in the middle of the road blocking the way alike of friend and foe who might desire or seek the nomination of that convention. He could not be induced to efface himself. Whilst he was from day to day pretending that he would issue a farewell address to his party, taking himself from out the range of possible nominees, a member of his Cabinet, without rebuke, was permitted earnestly to urge him for a fourth time upon the party. He literally held Carlisle whilst Carlisle's enemies skinned him. But, later along, when a sacrificial nomination was in issue, he was prompt, even vociferous, in his refusal to consider it. In a word, he was a receptive candidate for a fourth nomination; he thought the factional troubles in the party would bring this about; and—well—we saw what we saw, we have been there and we have returned, and, to make a long story short, we know what we know.

"It seems a kind of irony that it should be a Tilden Club to welcome Mr. Cleveland's baleful re-entry into political activities. Mr. Tilden died with words of scorn and contempt upon his lips for Grover Cleveland. He understood perfectly the coarse texture of Mr. Cleveland's physical and mental make-up; his obtuse selfishness; his ignorant obstinacy; his vulgar self-assertion; his indefatigable duplicity. That Mr. Cleveland should put himself forward as a conjecturable party leader is proof of a self-confidence which would be sublime if it were not sinister; because leadership with him means office and nothing but office. Such well-turned disclaimers as that which irradiated his else-wise aptly-phrased speech of Thursday night, mean nothing to those who are familiar with his peculiar methods. They know for a certainty that Mr. Cleveland never puts himself to the trouble of a public appearance without a definite objective point, and that this objective point always relates to his own appetite and interest.

Always an Office Seeker.—"From the day he was one and twenty till now he has been an office seeker. He never drew a disinterested respiration in all his life. We are not permitted therefore to see in this artfully timed and ostentatious reappearance upon the scene from which he withdrew into the conspicuous shade of a great university anything except the organization of a Presidential boom,

as it is called. From 1889 until 1892, affecting the same seclusion, Mr. Cleveland was industriously shaping his campaign for the nomination of the latter year. His old office holders were industriously helping him. They thought if he got back they would get back. So, in every precinct throughout the country, whilst the chieftain masqueraded as a patriot and sage, rising superior to the material things of ambition and life, the Cleveland propaganda went on beneath the surface. The trick succeeded. It had never been tried before, and those who might have withstood it knew not how. As the appointed time drew nigh it looked as if the whole country was for Cleveland. Through the admirable and tireless management of Mr. Whitney he was nominated, and, thanks to the Homestead riots, he was elected, and the first thing he did on getting back to his kingdom was to announce to the men who had restored it to him—his former officeholders—that they were not in it! Thus he killed two birds with one stone; he got rid of a riffraff of importunates and made a new riffraff of expectants; trusting his luck that in future contingencies the latter would outweigh the former. More than any politician of his time he has understood how to play upon public opinion and to pose for effect. This has enabled his partisans to create an ideal Cleveland, to place this upon a pedestal, and to fall down and worship their own man of straw. Meanwhile, the real Cleveland grew to be a veritable Upas tree, so that whoever came beneath its shadow perished. The truth is that, though a wrecker of larger craft, in paddling his own canoe, Mr. Cleveland is a most dexterous oarsman.

Diaz of Democracy.—"We rather think the party will agree without much division that it has had its fill of Mr. Cleveland. The idea of his nomination in 1903 is little short of ridiculous. He would be hailed by the Republicans as the Diaz of Democracy; that is, as its only, onliest captain-general. It is safe to say that as a candidate for a third term in the White House—and for the fourth time a Presidential nominee—he could not carry a contested district in the United States.

"The Tilden Club has decidedly not put its best foot foremost. The rather, as the saying is, it has 'put its foot in it.' The name of Cleveland may still be a name to conjure with for the Republicans. With the Democrats of the West and South it is simply hateful. Addressing it, the party might paraphrase the familiar words of Rip Van Winkle, 'I got enough, and I know when I got enough,' though it would hardly be able to complete the sentence and to add, 'I am glad when I got enough!' The substance of what Mr. Cleveland said was done in his characteristic vein of felicitous subtlety; but which of the fables tells of a certain animal, with sad memories in mind, saying in response to the polite invitation of a certain other animal, 'Mr. Fox, you talk too well!'"

BRYAN READS CLEVELAND OUT OF PARTY.

William Jennings Bryan did not attend the "Democratic harmony meeting" at the Tilden Club in New York. The following statement given out for publication at Lincoln, Nebr., June 23, explains why he did not:

"The banquet given on the evening of June 19 by the Tilden Club of New York City was advertised as a 'harmony meeting,' but it turned out to be what might have been expected of such a gathering, an ovation to the chief guest, former Democrat Grover Cleveland. There can be no such thing as harmony between men like him and those who believe in Democratic principles, and he is frank enough to say so. He spent no time looking for middle 'ground,' upon which to gather together discordant elements. He boldly called upon the members of the party to abandon their convictions and accept the construction which he placed upon Democratic principles. He even taunted the party with being a sort of prodigal son, and invited it to give up its diet of husks and return to its father's house.

Interpreting Cleveland's Words.—"He spoke of his 'retirement from political activity,' and said: 'Perhaps there are those who would define my position as one of banishment instead of retirement. Against this I shall not enter a protest. It is sufficient for me in either case that I have followed on the matters of difference within our party the teachings and counsel of the great Democrat in whose name party peace and harmony are to-night invoked. No confession of party sin should, therefore, be expected of me. I have none to make; nor do I crave political absolution.'

"He not only boasted of his course, but put his brand upon those who sat at meat with him. Having asserted that his Democratic faith compelled him to leave the party (or resulted in his banishment), he desecrated the banqueters as sharing in that faith.

"He is not only defiant, but he insists that party success can be secured only by an open and avowed return to his ideas. Harmony is to be secured, not by the suppression of differences, but by the elimination of those who differ from him."

Mr. Bryan says he will print in his paper Mr. Cleveland's speech "to show that the organizers do not want harmony, but control, and that their control means the abandonment of the party's position and a return to the policies and practices of Mr. Cleveland's second administration." He continues:

The Second Administration.—"He (Cleveland) secured his nomination in 1892 by a secret bargain with the financiers; his committee collected from the corporations and spent the largest campaign fund the party ever had; he filled his Cabinet with corporation

agents and placed railroad attorneys on the United States bench to look after the interests of their former clients. He turned the Treasury over to a Wall street syndicate, and the financial members of his official family went from Washington to become the private attorney of the man who forced (?) the Treasury Department to sell him Government bonds at 105 and then resold them at 117. He tried to prevent the adoption of the income tax provision, he refused to sign the only tariff reform measure passed since the war, and while thundering against the trusts in his message, did even less than Knox has done to interfere with their high-handed methods.

"His Administration, instead of being a fountain of Democracy, sending forth pure and refreshing streams, became a stagnant pool, from whose waters foul vapors arose, poisonous to those who lingered near.

"Having debauched his party, he was offended by its effect to reform and gave comfort to the enemy. Virginius killed his daughter to save her chastity; Cleveland stabbed his party to prevent its return to the paths of virtue.

"And now, still gloating over his political crimes, he invites the party to return to him and apologize for the contempt which it has expressed for him. Will it? Not until the principles of Jefferson are forgotten and the works of Jackson cease to inspire.

Cleveland the Logical Candidate.—"If we are to have reorganization, Cleveland himself should accept the Presidential nomination. It would be due him; his reinstatement would be poetic justice to him and retribution to those whose Democratic conscience revolted against his undemocratic conduct. Of course, he would get no Democratic votes, but being closer to plutocracy than any Republican likely to be nominated, he might divide the enemy, and even Democrats would have what little consolation would come from receiving their disappointment in advance.

"A merchant about to fail invited his creditors to a dinner, and, after stating his condition, secured a year's extension from all present. One of the number, a relative, waited until after the others had retired, and then accosted the debtor: 'Of course I promised with the rest to extend the time, but you are going to make me a preferred creditor, are you not?' 'Yes,' replied the debtor, 'I'll make you a preferred creditor. I'll tell you now that you are not going to get anything; the rest won't find it out for a year.' Mr. Cleveland's nomination would have this advantage over the nomination of any other reorganizer, he would make the Democrats preferred creditors and tell them that they would not be benefited by his Administration.

"Mr. Cleveland's speech should be read in full. It answers a use-

ful purpose; it outlines the plan of campaign decided upon by the plutocratic elements, for which the reorganizers stand. Tariff reform is to be made the chief issue, and the men who voted for McKinley, the high priest of protection, are to carry on a sham battle with their companions of 1896, while the financiers make the dollar redeemable in gold and fasten upon the country an asset currency and a branch bank system. Trusts are to be denounced in sonorous terms, while the campaign managers mortgage the party to the trust magnates in return for campaign funds. Sometimes imperialism will be denounced, as in Mr. Hopkins's Illinois convention; sometimes ignored, as in Mr. Cleveland's speech; but whether denounced or ignored, the secret and silent power that can compel submission to the demands of the financiers and to the demands of the trust magnates can compel submission to the demands of the exploiters and the representatives of militarism.

"The fight is on between a Democracy that means Democracy and a Clevelandism which means plutocracy. Every speech made by Mr. Cleveland shows more clearly the odiousness of the policies for which he stands. We have more to fear from those who, like Mr. Hill, indorse Mr. Cleveland's views, but conceal their real purpose in ambiguous language."

Corporations engaged in interstate commerce should be regulated if they are found to exercise a license working to the public injury. It should be as much the aim of those who seek for social betterment to rid the business world of crimes of cunning as to rid the entire body politic of crimes of violence.—President Roosevelt, in message to Congress, December 3, 1901.

Call the roll of nations which are for protection. * * * At least 430 million people are in favor of protection and 38 million Britons are against it; to whom must be added those Americans whose numbers are not known, who, while living under our flag, seem to follow another.—Major McKinley at Toledo, Ohio, February 12, 1891.

The first essential of civilization is law. Anarchy is simply the hand-maiden and forerunner of tyranny and despotism. Law and order enforced by justice and by strength lie at the foundation of civilization. Law must be based upon justice, else it cannot stand, and it must be enforced with resolute firmness, because weakness in enforcing it means in the end that there is no justice and no law, nothing but the rule of disorderly and unscrupulous strength.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

NATIONAL POLITICAL PLATFORMS.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM, 1900.

The Republicans of the United States, through their chosen representatives, met in National Convention, looking back upon an unsurpassed record of achievement and looking forward into a great field of duty and opportunity, and appealing to the judgment of their countrymen, make these declarations:

THE ACTION OF 1896 JUSTIFIED.

The expectation in which the American people, turning from the Democratic party, intrusted power four years ago to a Republican Chief Magistrate and a Republican Congress, has been met and satisfied. When the people then assembled at the polls, after a term of Democratic legislation and administration, business was dead, industry paralyzed, and the national credit disastrously impaired. The country's capital was hidden away and its labor distressed and unemployed. The Democrats had no other plan with which to improve the ruinous conditions which they had themselves produced than to coin silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. The Republican party, denouncing this plan as sure to produce conditions even worse than those from which relief was sought, promised to restore prosperity by means of two legislative measures—a protective tariff and a law making gold the standard of value. The people by great majorities issued to the Republican party a commission to enact these laws. The commission has been executed, and the Republican promise is redeemed. Prosperity more general and more abundant than we have ever known has followed these enactments. There is no longer controversy as to the value of any Government obligation. Every American dollar is a gold dollar or its assured equivalent, and American credit stands higher than that of any nation. Capital is fully employed and labor everywhere is profitably occupied. No single fact can more strikingly tell the story of what Republican Government means to the country than this—that while during the whole period of one hundred and seven years from 1790 to 1897 there was an excess of exports over imports of only \$383,028,497, there has been in the short three years of the present Republican Administration an excess of exports over imports in the enormous sum of \$1,483,537,094.

THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

And while the American people, sustained by this Republican legislation, have been achieving these splendid triumphs in their business and commerce, they have conducted and in victory concluded a war for liberty and human rights. No thought of national aggrandizement tarnished the high purpose with which American standards were unfurled. It was a war unsought and patiently resisted, but when it came the American Government was ready. Its fleets were cleared for action, its armies were in the field, and the quick and signal triumph of its forces on land and sea bore equal tribute to the courage of American soldiers and sailors, to the skill and foresight of Republican statesmanship.⁴ To ten millions of the human race there was given "a new birth of freedom," and to the American people a new and noble responsibility.

PRESIDENT M'KINLEY'S ADMINISTRATION.

We indorse the Administration of President William McKinley. Its acts have been established in wisdom and in patriotism, and at home and abroad it has distinctly elevated and extended the influence of the American nation. Walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities, President McKinley has been in every situation the true American patriot and the upright statesman, clear in vision, strong in judgment, firm in action, always inspiring, and deserving the confidence of his countrymen.

PROSPERITY AND THE PUBLIC CONFIDENCE.

In asking the American people to indorse this Republican record and to renew their commission to the Republican party, we remind them of the fact that the menace to their prosperity has always resided in Democratic principles and no less in the general incapacity of the Democratic party to conduct public affairs. The prime essential of business prosperity is public confidence in the good sense of the Government and its ability to deal intelligently with each new problem of administration and legislation. That confidence the Democratic party has never earned. It is hopelessly inadequate, and the country's prosperity, when Democratic success at the polls is announced, halts and ceases in mere anticipation of Democratic blunders and failures.

CURRENCY.

We renew our allegiance to the principle of the gold standard and declare our confidence in the wisdom of the legislation of the Fifty-sixth Congress by which the parity of all our money and the stability of our currency upon a gold basis has been secured. We

recognize that interest rates are a potent factor in production and business activity, and for the purpose of further equalizing and of further lowering the rates of interest, we favor such monetary legislation as will enable the varying needs of the season and of all sections to be promptly met in order that trade may be evenly sustained, labor steadily employed, and commerce enlarged. The volume of money in circulation was never so great per capita as it is to-day.

THE FREE COINAGE OF SILVER.

We declare our steadfast opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. No measure to that end could be considered which was without the support of the leading commercial countries of the world. However firmly Republican legislation may seem to have secured the country against the peril of base and discredited currency, the election of a Democratic President could not fail to impair the country's credit and to bring once more into question the intention of the American people to maintain upon the gold standard the parity of their money circulation. The Democratic party must be convinced that the American people will never tolerate the Chicago platform.

TRUSTS.

We recognize the necessity and propriety of the honest co-operation of capital to meet new business conditions and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade, but we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition, and secure the rights of producer, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

PROTECTION.

We renew our faith in the policy of protection to American labor, in that policy our industries have been established, diversified, and maintained. By protecting the home market competition has been stimulated and production cheapened. Opportunity to the inventive genius of our people has been secured and wages in every department of labor maintained at high rates, higher now than ever before, and always distinguishing our working people in their better condition of life from those of any competing country. Enjoying the blessings of the American common school, secure in the right of self-government, and protected in the occupancy of their own markets, their constantly increasing knowledge and skill have enabled them to finally enter the markets of the world. We favor

the associated policy of reciprocity so directed as to open our markets on favorable terms for what we do not ourselves produce in return for free foreign markets.

LABOR.

In the further interest of American workmen we favor a more effective restriction on the immigration of cheap labor from foreign lands, the extension of opportunities of education for working children, the raising of the age limit for child labor, the protection of free labor as against contract convict labor, and an effective system of labor insurance.

SHIPS.

Our present dependence upon foreign shipping for nine-tenths of our foreign carrying is a great loss to the industry of this country. It is also a serious danger to our trade, for its sudden withdrawal in the event of European war would seriously cripple our expanding foreign commerce. The national defense and naval efficiency of this country, moreover, supply a compelling reason for legislation which will enable us to recover our former place among the trade carrying fleets of the world.

OUR SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

The nation owes a debt of profound gratitude to the soldiers and sailors who have fought its battles, and it is the Government's duty to provide for the survivors and for the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in the country's wars. The pension laws, founded in this just sentiment, should be liberal and should be liberally administered, and preference should be given wherever practicable with respect to employment in the public service to soldiers and sailors and to their widows and orphans.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

We commend the policy of the Republican party in the efficiency of the civil service. The Administration has acted wisely in its efforts to secure for public service in Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippine Islands only those whose fitness has been determined by training and experience. We believe that employment in the public service in these territories should be confined, as far as practicable, to their inhabitants.

NO DISFRANCHISEMENT OF VOTERS.

It was the plain purpose of the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution to prevent discrimination on account of race or color in regulating the elective franchise. Devices of State governments,

whether by statutory or constitutional enactment, to avoid the purpose of this amendment are revolutionary, and should be condemned.

PUBLIC ROADS.

Public movements looking to a permanent improvement of the roads and highways of the country meet with our cordial approval, and we recommend this subject to the earnest consideration of the people and of the legislatures of the several States.

RURAL FREE DELIVERY.

We favor the extension of the rural free delivery service wherever its extension may be justified.

FREE HOMES.

In further pursuance of the constant policy of the Republican party to provide free homes on the public domain, we recommend adequate national legislation to reclaim the arid lands of the United States, reserving control of the distribution of water for irrigation to the respective States and Territories.

THE TERRITORIES.

We favor home rule for, and the early admission to, statehood of the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma.

THE DINGLEY ACT AND THE REVENUES.

The Dingley Act, amended to provide sufficient revenue for the conduct of the war, has so well performed its work that it has been possible to reduce the war debt in the sum of \$40,000,000. So ample are the Government's revenues and so great is the public confidence in the integrity of its obligations that its newly-funded 2 per cent bonds sell at a premium. The country is now justified in expecting and it will be the policy of the Republican party to bring about a reduction of the war taxes.

ISTHMIAN CANAL.

We favor the construction, ownership, control, and protection of an Isthmian Canal by the Government of the United States. New markets are necessary for the increasing surplus of our farm products. Every effort should be made to open and obtain new markets, especially in the Orient, and the Administration is warmly to be commended for its successful effort to commit all trading and colonizing nations to the policy of the open door in China.

A DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

In the interest of our expanding commerce we recommend that Congress create a Department of Commerce and Industries, in

charge of a Secretary with a seat in the Cabinet. The United States consular system should be reorganized under the supervision of this new Department upon such a basis of appointment and tenure as will render it still more serviceable to the nation's increasing trade.

The American Government must protect the person and property of every citizen wherever they are wrongfully violated or placed in peril.

THE WOMEN OF AMERICA.

We congratulate the women of America upon their splendid record of public service in the volunteer aid association and as nurses in camp and hospital during the recent campaigns of our armies in the Eastern and Western Indies, and we appreciate their faithful co-operation in all works of education and industry.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

President McKinley has conducted the foreign affairs of the United States with distinguished credit to the American people. In releasing us from the vexatious conditions of a European alliance for the government of Samoa, his course is especially to be commended. By securing to our undivided control the most important island of the Samoan group and the best harbor in the Southern Pacific, every American interest has been safe-guarded.

HAWAII.

We approve the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

We commend the part taken by our Government in the peace conference at The Hague. We assert our steadfast adherence to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine. The provisions of the Hague Convention were wisely regarded when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interest of peace between Great Britain and the South African Republic. While the American Government must continue the policy prescribed by Washington, affirmed by every succeeding President, and imposed upon us by the Hague treaty of non-intervention in European controversies, the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them.

THE PHILIPPINES—PORTO RICO.

In accepting by the treaty of Paris the just responsibility of our country in the Spanish war, the President and the Senate won the approval of the American people. No other course was open than to destroy Spain's sovereignty throughout the West-

ern Indies and in the Philippine Islands. That course created our responsibility before the world and with the unorganized population whom our intervention had freed from Spain, to provide for the maintenance of law and order, and for the establishment of good government and for the performance of international obligations. Our authority could not be less than our responsibility, and wherever sovereign rights were extended it became the high duty of the Government to maintain its authority, to put down armed insurrection, and to confer the blessings of liberty and civilization upon all the rescued peoples. The largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them by law.

CUBA.

To Cuba independence and self-government were assured in the same voice by which war was declared, and to the letter this pledge shall be performed.

The Republican party upon its history, and upon this declaration of principles and policies, confidently invokes the considerate and approving judgment of the American people.

PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

[Adopted by the Republican convention at St. Louis, July 17, 1896.]

The Republicans of the United States, assembled by their representatives in national convention, appealing for the popular and historical justification of their claims to the matchless achievements of the thirty years of Republican rule, earnestly and confidently address themselves to the awakened intelligence, experience, and conscience of their countrymen in the following declaration of facts and principles:

For the first time since the civil war the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the Government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary current expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by \$262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates, and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule.

In the broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, re-

duced work and wages, halted enterprise, and crippled American production while stimulating foreign production for the American market. Every consideration of public safety and individual interest demands that the Government shall be rescued from the hands of those who have shown themselves incapable to conduct it without disaster at home and dishonor abroad, and shall be restored to the party which for thirty years administered it with unequaled success and prosperity, and in this connection we heartily indorse the wisdom, patriotism, and the success of the Administration of President Harrison.

TARIFF.

We renew and emphasize our allegiance to the policy of protection as the bulwark of American industrial independence and the foundation of American development and prosperity. This true American policy taxes foreign products and encourages home industry; it puts the burden of revenue on foreign goods; it secures the American market for the American producer; it upholds the American standard of wages for the American workingman; it puts the factory by the side of the farm, and makes the American farmer less dependent on foreign demand and price; it diffuses general thrift, and founds the strength of all on the strength of each. In its reasonable application it is just, fair, and impartial; equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination, and individual favoritism.

We denounce the present Democratic tariff as sectional, injurious to the public credit, and destructive to business enterprise. We demand such an equitable tariff on foreign imports which come into competition with American products as will not only furnish adequate revenue for the necessary expenses of the Government, but will protect American labor from degradation to the wage level of other lands. We are not pledged to any particular schedules. The question of rates is a practical question, to be governed by the conditions of the time and of production; the ruling and uncompromising principle is the protection and development of American labor and industry. The country demands a right settlement, and then it wants rest.

RECIPROCITY.

We believe the repeal of the reciprocity arrangements negotiated by the last Republican Administration was a national calamity, and we demand their renewal and extension on such terms as will equalize our trade with other nations, remove the restrictions which now obstruct the sale of American products in the ports of other countries, and secure enlarged markets for the products of *our farms, forests, and factories.*

Protection and reciprocity are twin measures of Republican policy and go hand in hand. Democratic rule has recklessly struck down both, and both must be re-established. Protection for what we produce; free admission for the necessities of life which we do not produce; reciprocity agreements of mutual interests which gain open markets for us in return for our open markets to others. Protection builds up domestic industry and trade and secures our own market for ourselves; reciprocity builds up foreign trade and finds an outlet for our surplus.

We hopefully look forward to the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere, and to the ultimate union of all English-speaking parts of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants.

SUGAR.

We condemn the present Administration for not keeping faith with the sugar producers of this country. The Republican party favors such protection as will lead to the production on American soil of all the sugar which the American people use, and for which they pay other countries more than \$100,000,000 annually.

WOOL AND WOOLENS.

To all our products—to those of the mine and the fields as well as to those of the shop and the factory; to hemp, to wool, the product of the great industry of sheep husbandry, as well as to the finished woollens of the mills—we promise the most ample protection.

MERCHANT MARINE.

We favor restoring the American policy of discriminating duties for the upbuilding of our merchant marine and the protection of our shipping in the foreign carrying trade, so that American ships—the product of American labor, employed in American shipyards, sailing under the Stars and Stripes, and manned, officered, and owned by Americans—may regain the carrying of our foreign commerce.

FINANCE.

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money. It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879; since then every dollar has been as good as gold.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved. All

our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

PENSIONS.

The veterans of the Union Army deserve and should receive fair treatment and generous recognition. Whenever practicable they should be given the preference in the matter of employment, and they are entitled to the enactment of such laws as are best calculated to secure the fulfillment of the pledges made to them in the dark days of the country's peril. We denounce the practice in the Pension Bureau, so recklessly and unjustly carried on by the present Administration, of reducing pensions and arbitrarily dropping names from the rolls as deserving the severest condemnation of the American people.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Our foreign policy should be at all times firm, vigorous, and dignified, and all our interests in the Western Hemisphere carefully watched and guarded. The Hawaiian Islands should be controlled by the United States, and no foreign power should be permitted to interfere with them; the Nicaraguan Canal should be built, owned, and operated by the United States; and by the purchase of the Danish Islands we should secure a proper and much needed naval station in the West Indies.

ARMENIAN MASSACRES.

The massacres in Armenia have aroused the deep sympathy and just indignation of the American people, and we believe that the United States should exercise all the influence it can properly exert to bring these atrocities to an end. In Turkey, American residents have been exposed to the gravest dangers and American property destroyed. There and everywhere American citizens and American property must be absolutely protected at all hazards and at any cost.

MONROE DOCTRINE.

We reassert the Monroe Doctrine in its full extent, and we reaffirm the right of the United States to give the doctrine effect by responding to the appeal of any American State for friendly intervention in case of European encroachment. We have not interfered and shall not interfere with the existing possessions of any European power in this hemisphere, but these possessions must *not on any pretext* be extended.

CUBA.

From the hour of achieving their own independence the people of the United States have regarded with sympathy the struggles of other American people to free themselves from European domination. We watch with deep and abiding interest the heroic battle of the Cuban patriots against cruelty and oppression, and our best hopes go out for the full success of their determined contest for liberty.

The Government of Spain having lost control of Cuba, and being unable to protect the property or lives of resident American citizens, or to comply with its treaty obligations, we believe that the Government of the United States should actually use its influence and good offices to restore peace and give independence to the island.

THE NAVY.

The peace and security of the Republic and the maintenance of its rightful influence among the nations of the earth demand a naval power commensurate with its position and responsibility. We therefore favor the continued enlargement of the Navy and a complete system of harbor and seacoast defenses.

FOREIGN IMMIGRATION.

For the protection of the quality of our American citizenship and of the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor, we demand that the immigration laws be thoroughly enforced and so extended as to exclude from entrance to the United States those who can neither read nor write.

CIVIL SERVICE.

The civil-service law was placed on the statute books by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our repeated declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced and extended wherever practicable.

FREE BALLOT.

We demand that every citizen of the United States shall be allowed to cast one free and unrestricted ballot, and that such ballot shall be counted and returned as cast.

LYNCHINGS.

We proclaim our unqualified condemnation of the uncivilized and barbarous practice, well known as lynching, or killing of human beings suspected or charged with crime, without process of law.

NATIONAL ARBITRATION.

We favor the creation of a national board of arbitration to settle and adjust differences which may arise between employers and employees engaged in interstate commerce.

HOMESTEADS.

We believe in an immediate return to the free homestead policy of the Republican party, and urge the passage by Congress of a satisfactory free homestead measure such as has already passed the House and is now pending in the Senate.

TERRITORIES.

We favor the admission of the remaining Territories at the earliest practicable date, having due regard to the interests of the people of the Territories and of the United States. All the Federal officers appointed for the Territories should be selected from bona fide residents thereof, and the right of self-government should be accorded as far as practicable.

ALASKA.

We believe the citizens of Alaska should have representation in the Congress of the United States, to the end that needful legislation may be intelligently enacted.

TEMPERANCE.

We sympathize with all wise and legitimate efforts to lessen and prevent the evils of intemperance and promote morality.

RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

The Republican party is mindful of the rights and interests of women. Protection of American industries includes equal opportunities, equal pay for equal work, and protection to the home. We favor the admission of women to wider spheres of usefulness, and welcome their co-operation in rescuing the country from Democratic and Populist mismanagement and misrule.

Such are the principles and policies of the Republican party. By these principles we will abide and these policies we will put into execution. We ask for them the considerate judgment of the American people. Confident alike in the history of our great party and in the justice of our cause, we present our platform and our candidates in the full assurance that the election will bring victory to the Republican party and prosperity to the people of the *United States*.

PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

[Adopted at Kansas City, July 5, 1900.]

We, the representatives of the Democratic party of the United States, assembled in National Convention on the anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, do reaffirm our faith in that immortal proclamation of the inalienable rights of man and our allegiance to the Constitution framed in harmony therewith by the fathers of the Republic. We hold with the United States Supreme Court that the Declaration of Independence is the spirit of our Government, of which the Constitution is the form and letter. We declare again that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not based upon the consent of the governed is a tyranny, and that to impose upon any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic. We hold that the Constitution follows the flag, and denounce the doctrine that an Executive or Congress, deriving their existence and their powers from the Constitution, can exercise lawful authority beyond it, or in violation of it. We assert that no nation can long endure half republic and half empire, and we warn the American people that imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home.

THE PORTO RICAN ACT.

Believing in these fundamental principles, we denounce the Porto Rico law enacted by a Republican Congress against the protest and opposition of the Democratic minority as a bold and open violation of the nation's organic law and a flagrant breach of the national good faith. It imposes upon the people of Porto Rico a government without their consent and taxation without representation. It dishonors the American people by repudiating a solemn pledge made in their behalf by the Commanding General of our Army, which the Porto Ricans welcomed to a peaceful and unresisted occupation of their land. It doomed to poverty and distress a people whose helplessness appeals with peculiar force to our justice and magnanimity.

In this, the first act of its imperialistic programme, the Republican party seeks to commit the United States to a colonial policy, inconsistent with Republican institutions and condemned by the Supreme Court in numerous decisions.

CUBA.

We demand the prompt and honest fulfillment of our pledge to the Cuban people and the world, that the United States has no dis-

position nor intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the Island of Cuba except for its pacification. The war ended nearly two years ago, profound peace reigns over all the Island, and still the Administration keeps the government of the Island from the people, while Republican carpetbag officials plunder its revenues and exploit the colonial theory to the disgrace of the American people.

THE PHILIPPINE POLICY.

We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present Administration. It has embroiled the Republic in an unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of its noblest sons, and placed the United States, previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government. The Filipinos can not be citizens without endangering our civilization; they can not be subjects without imperiling our form of government, and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization or to convert the Republic into an empire, we favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give to the Filipinos: first, a stable form of government; second, independence; and, third, protection from outside interference, such as has been given for nearly a century to the Republics of Central and South America.

The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican Administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay; but even this sordid and unworthy plea fails when brought to the tests of facts. The war of "criminal aggression" against the Filipinos, entailing an annual expense of many millions, has already cost more than any possible profit that could accrue from the entire Philippine trade for years to come. Furthermore, when trade is extended at the expense of liberty, the price is always too high.

We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into States in the Union, and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens. We favor trade expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to the seizing or purchasing of distant islands to be governed outside the Constitution and whose people can never become citizens.

We are in favor of extending the Republic's influence among the nations, but believe that influence should be extended, not by force and violence, but through the persuasive power of a high and honorable example.

"IMPERIALISM."

The importance of other questions now pending before the American people is in no wise diminished, and the Democratic party takes no backward step from its positions on them, but the burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish war involves the very existence of the Republic and the destruction of our free institutions. We regard it as the paramount issue of the campaign.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

The declaration in the Republican platform adopted at the Philadelphia Convention held in June, 1900, that the Republicans steadfastly adhered to the policy announced in the Monroe Doctrine, is manifestly insincere and deceptive. This profession is contradicted by the avowed policy of that party in opposition to the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, to acquire and hold sovereignty over large areas of territory and large numbers of people in the Eastern Hemisphere. We insist on the strict maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine in all its integrity, both in letter and spirit, as necessary to prevent the extension of European authority on this continent and as essential to our supremacy in American affairs. At the same time we declare that no American people shall ever be held by force in unwilling subjection to European authority.

"MILITARISM."

We oppose militarism. It means conquest abroad and intimidation and oppression at home. It means the strong arm which has ever been fatal to free institutions. It is what millions of our citizens have fled from in Europe. It will impose upon our peace-loving people a large standing army and unnecessary burden of taxation, and a constant menace to their liberties. A small standing army and a well-disciplined State militia are amply sufficient in time of peace. This Republic has no place for a vast military service and conscription. When the nation is in danger the volunteer soldier is his country's best defender. The National Guard of the United States should ever be cherished in the patriotic hearts of a free people. Such organizations are ever an element of strength and safety. For the first time in our history and coeval with the Philippine conquest has there been a wholesale departure from our time-honored and approved system of volunteer organizations. We denounce it as un-American, undemocratic and un-republican, and as a subversion of the ancient and fixed principles of a free people.

TRUSTS.

Private monopolies are indefensible and intolerable. They destroy competition, control the price of all material, and of the

finished product, thus robbing both producer and consumer; lessen the employment of labor, and arbitrarily fix the terms and vital of their opportunity for betterment. They are the most efficient conditions thereof, and deprive individual energy and small capacious agent yet devised for appropriating the fruits of industry to the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and unless their insatiate greed is checked all wealth will be aggregated in a few hands and the Republic destroyed. The dishonest paltering with the trust evil by the Republican party in State and national platforms is conclusive proof of the truth of the charge that trusts are the legitimate product of Republican policies, that they are fostered by Republican laws, and that they are protected by the Republican Administration in return for campaign subscriptions and political support.

We pledge the Democratic party to an unceasing warfare in nation, State, and city against private monopoly in every form. Existing laws against trusts must be enforced and more stringent ones must be enacted providing for publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, and requiring all corporations to show before doing business outside of the State of their origin that they have no water in their stock, and that they have not attempted, and are not attempting, to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any article of merchandise, and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails, and all modes of interstate communication shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts. Tariff laws should be amended by putting the products of trusts upon the free list to prevent monopoly under the plea of protection. The failure of the present Republican Administration, with an absolute control over all the branches of the National Government, to enact any legislation designed to prevent or even curtail the absorbing power of trusts and illegal combinations, or to enforce the anti-trust laws already on the statute books, prove the insincerity of the high-sounding phrases of the Republican platform. Corporations should be protected in all their rights, and their legitimate interests should be respected, but any attempt by corporations to interfere with the public affairs of the people or to control the sovereignty which creates them should be forbidden under such penalties as will make such attempts impossible.

THE DINGLEY TARIFF.

We condemn the Dingley tariff law as a trust-breeding measure, skillfully devised to give the few favors which they do not deserve and to place upon the many burdens which they should not bear.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE.

We favor such an enlargement of the scope of the interstate commerce law as will enable the Commission to protect individuals and communities from discriminations and the people from unjust and unfair transportation rates.

FREE COINAGE OF SILVER AT 16 TO 1.

We reaffirm and indorse the principles of the National Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1896, and we reiterate the demand of that platform for an American financial system, made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

THE CURRENCY ACT.

We denounce the currency bill enacted at the last session of Congress as a step forward in the Republican policy which aims to discredit the sovereign right of the National Government to issue all money, whether coin or paper, and to bestow upon national banks the power to issue and control the volume of paper money for their own benefit. A permanent national bank currency, secured by Government bonds, must have a permanent debt to rest upon, and if the bank currency is to increase with population and business the debt must also increase. The Republican currency statement is, therefore, a statement for fastening upon the taxpayers a perpetual and growing debt for the benefit of the banks. We are opposed to this private corporation paper circulated as money, but without legal-tender qualities, and demand the retirement of the national bank notes as fast as Government paper or silver certificates can be substituted for them.

We favor an amendment to the Federal Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by the direct vote of the people, and we favor direct legislation wherever practicable.

We are opposed to government by injunction, and we denounce the blacklist and favor arbitration as a means of settling disputes between corporations and their employees.

LABOR.

In the interest of American labor and the upbuilding of the workingman, as the cornerstone of the prosperity of our country, we recommend that Congress create a Department of Labor, in charge of a Secretary, with a seat in the Cabinet, believing that the

elevation of the American laborer will bring with it increased production and increased prosperity to our country at home and to our commerce abroad.

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS.

We are proud of the courage and fidelity of the American soldier and sailor in all our wars; we favor liberal pensions to them and their dependents, and we reiterate the position taken in the Chicago platform in 1896, that the fact of enlistment and service shall be deemed conclusive evidence against disease and disability before enlistment.

THE NICARAGUAN CANAL.

We favor the immediate construction, ownership, and control of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States, and we denounce the insincerity of the plank in the Republican national platform for an Isthmian Canal in the face of the failure of the Republican majority to pass the bill pending in Congress.

We condemn the Hay-Pauncefote treaty as a surrender of American rights and interests, not to be tolerated by the American people.

TERRITORIES.

We denounce the failure of the Republican party to carry out its pledges to grant statehood to the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma, and we promise the people of those three Territories immediate statehood and home rule during their condition as Territories, and we favor home rule and a territorial form of government for Alaska and Porto Rico.

We favor an intelligent system of improving the arid lands of the West, storing the waters for purposes of irrigation, and the holding of such lands for actual settlers.

We favor the continuance and strict enforcement of the Chinese exclusion law, and its application to the same classes of all Asiatic races.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Jefferson said: "Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." We approve this wholesome doctrine, and earnestly protest against the Republican departure which has involved us in so-called world politics, including the diplomacy of Europe and the intrigue and land-grabbing of Asia, and we especially condemn the ill-concealed Republican alliance with England, which must mean discrimination against other friendly nations, and which has already stifled the nation's *voice while liberty is being strangled in Africa.*

SOUTH AFRICA.

Believing in the principles of self-government, and rejecting as did our forefathers the claim of monarchy, we view with indignation the purpose of England to overwhelm with force the South African republics. Speaking, as we believe, for the entire American nation, except its Republican officeholders, and for all free men everywhere, we extend our sympathies to the heroic burghers in their unequal struggle to maintain their liberty and independence.

We denounce the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and which threaten the perpetuation of the oppressive war levies. We oppose the accumulation of a surplus to be squandered in such barefaced frauds upon the taxpayers as the shipping subsidy bill, which, under the false pretense of prospering American shipbuilding, it would put unearned millions into the pockets of favorite contributors to the Republican campaign fund. We favor the reduction and speedy repeal of the war taxes and a return to the time-honored Democratic policy of strict economy in governmental expenditures.

Believing that our most cherished institutions are in great peril, that the very existence of our constitutional Republic is at stake, and that the decision now to be rendered will determine whether or not our children are to enjoy those blessed privileges of free government which have made the United States great, prosperous, and honored, we earnestly ask for the foregoing declaration of principles the hearty support of the liberty-loving American people, regardless of previous party affiliations.

PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

[Adopted by the Democratic convention at Chicago, July 8, 1896.]

We, the Democrats of the United States, in national convention assembled, do reaffirm our allegiance to those great essential principles of justice and liberty upon which our institutions are founded, and which the Democratic party has advocated from Jefferson's time to our own—freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, the preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, and the faithful observance of constitutional limitations.

STATE RIGHTS.

During all these years the Democratic party has resisted the tendency of selfish interests to the centralization of governmental power, and steadfastly maintained the integrity of the dual scheme

of government established by the founders of this Republic of Republics. Under its guidance and teachings the great principle of local self-government has found its best expression in the maintenance of the rights of the States and in its assertion of the necessity of confining the General Government to the exercise of the powers granted by the Constitution of the United States.

THE MONEY QUESTION.

Recognizing that the money system is paramount to all others at this time, we invite attention to the fact that the Federal Constitution names silver and gold together as the money metals of the United States, and that the first coinage law passed by Congress under the Constitution made the silver dollar the monetary unit, and admitted gold to free coinage at a ratio based upon the silver-dollar unit.

We declare that the act of 1873, demonetizing silver without the knowledge or approval of the American people, has resulted in the appreciation of gold and a corresponding fall in the prices of commodities produced by the people; a heavy increase in the burden of taxation and of all debts, public and private; the enrichment of the money-lending class at home and abroad; prostration of industry and impoverishment of the people.

We are unalterably opposed to gold monometallism, which has locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times. Gold monometallism is a British policy, and its adoption has brought other nations into financial servitude to London. It is not only un-American, but anti-American, and it can be fastened on the United States only by the stifling of that spirit and love of liberty which proclaimed our political independence in 1776, and won it in the war of the Revolution.

FREE SILVER.

We demand the free and unlimited coinage of both gold and silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the standard silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for all debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal-tender money by private contract.

We are opposed to the policy and practice of surrendering to the holders of the obligations of the United States the option reserved by law to the Government of redeeming such obligations in either silver coin or gold coin.

BOND ISSUES.

We are opposed to the issuing of interest-bearing bonds of the United States in time of peace, and condemn the trafficking with

banking syndicates which, in exchange for bonds and at an enormous profit to themselves, supply the Federal Treasury with gold to maintain the policy of gold monometallism.

Congress alone has the power to coin and issue money, and President Jackson declared that this power could not be delegated to corporations or individuals. We therefore demand that the power to issue notes to circulate as money be taken from the national banks, and that all paper money shall be issued directly by the Treasury Department, be redeemable in coin, and receivable for all debts, public and private.

TARIFF FOR REVENUE.

We hold that the tariff duties should be levied for purposes of revenue, such duties to be so adjusted as to operate equally throughout the country and not discriminate between class or section, and that taxation should be limited by the needs of the Government honestly and economically administered. We denounce, as disturbing to business, the Republican threat to restore the McKinley law, which has been twice condemned by the people in national elections, and which, enacted under the false plea of protection to home industry, proved a prolific breeder of trusts and monopolies, enriched the few at the expense of the many, restricted trade, and deprived the producers of the great American staples of access to their natural markets. Until the money question is settled we are opposed to any agitation for further changes in our tariff laws, except such as are necessary to make the deficit in revenue caused by the adverse decision of the Supreme Court on the income tax.

THE INCOME TAX.

There would be no deficit in the revenue but for the annulment by the Supreme Court of a law passed by a Democratic Congress in strict pursuance of the uniform decisions of that court for nearly one hundred years, that court having sustained constitutional objections to its enactment which had been overruled by the ablest judges who have ever sat on that bench. We declare that it is the duty of Congress to use all the constitutional power which remains after that decision, or which may come by its reversal by the courts as it may hereafter be constituted, so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expenses of the Government.

IMMIGRATION.

We hold that the most efficient way to protect American labor is to prevent the importation of foreign pauper labor to compete with it in the home market, and that the value of the home market to our American farmers and artisans is greatly reduced by a

vicious monetary system, which depresses the prices of their products below the cost of production, and thus deprives them of the means of purchasing the products of our home manufacture.

CONGRESSIONAL APPROPRIATIONS.

We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation and the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high, while the labor that pays them is unemployed, and the products of the people's toil are depressed in price till they no longer repay the cost of production. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which best befits a democratic government and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries of which drain the substance of the people.

FEDERAL INTERFERENCE.

We denounce arbitrary interference by Federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States and a crime against free institutions, and we especially object to government by injunction as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression, by which Federal judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges, and executioners, and we approve the bill passed at the last session of the United States Senate, and now pending in the House, relative to contempts in Federal courts, and providing for trials by jury in certain cases of contempt.

PACIFIC FUNDING BILL.

No discrimination should be indulged by the Government of the United States in favor of any of its debtors. We approve of the refusal of the Fifty-third Congress to pass the Pacific Railroad funding bill, and denounce the effort of the present Republican Congress to enact a similar measure.

PENSIONS.

Recognizing the just claims of deserving Union soldiers, we fully indorse the rule of the present Commissioner of Pensions that no names shall be arbitrarily dropped from the pension roll, the fact of an enlistment and service should be deemed conclusive evidence against disease or disability before enlistment.

CUBA.

We extend our sympathy to the people of Cuba in their heroic struggle for liberty and independence.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

We are opposed to life tenure in the public service. We favor appointments based upon merits, fixed terms of office, and such an administration of the civil-service laws as will afford equal opportunities to all citizens of ascertained fitness.

NO THIRD TERM.

We declare it to be the unwritten law of this Republic, established by custom and usage of one hundred years, and sanctioned by the examples of the greatest and wisest of those who founded and have maintained our Government, that no man should be eligible for a third term of the Presidential office.

CORPORATE WEALTH.

The absorption of wealth by the few, the consolidation of our leading railroad systems, and formation of trusts and pools require a stricter control by the Federal Government of those arteries of commerce. We demand the enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and such restrictions and guaranties in the control of railroads as will protect the people from robbery and oppression.

ADMISSION OF TERRITORIES.

We favor the admission of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona into the Union of States, and we favor the early admission of all the Territories giving the necessary population and resources to entitle them to Statehood, and while they remain Territories we hold that the officials appointed to administer the government of any Territory, together with the District of Columbia and Alaska, should be bona fide residents of the Territory or District in which their duties are to be performed. The Democratic party believes in home rule and that all public lands of the United States should be appropriated to the establishment of free homes for American citizens.

We recommend, that the Territory of Alaska be granted a Delegate in Congress, and that the general land and timber laws of the United States be extended to said Territory.

MISSISSIPPI RIVER IMPROVEMENT.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior people easy and cheap transportation to tidewater. When any waterway of the Republic is of sufficient importance to demand aid of the Government, such aid should be extended upon a definite plan of continuous work until permanent improvement is secured.

Confiding in the justice of our cause and the necessity of its success at the polls, we submit the foregoing declaration of principles and purposes to the considerate judgment of the American people. We invite the support of all citizens who approve them, and who desire to have them made effective through legislation for the relief of the people and the restoration of the country's prosperity.

THE POPULIST NATIONAL PLATFORM.

[Adopted at Sioux Falls, S. Dak., May 10, 1900.]

The People's Party of the United States in convention assembled, congratulating its supporters on the wide extension of its principles in all directions, does hereby reaffirm its adherence to the fundamental principles proclaimed in its two prior platforms, and calls upon all who desire to avert the subversion of free institutions by corporate and imperialistic power to unite with it in bringing the Government back to the ideals of Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln.

It extends to its allies in the struggle for financial and economic freedom assurances of its loyalty to the principles which animate the allied forces, and the promise of honest and hearty co-operation in every effort for their success.

To the people of the United States we offer the following platform as the expression of our unalterable convictions:

Resolved, That we denounce the act of March 14, 1900, as the culmination of a long series of conspiracies to deprive the people of their constitutional rights over the money of the nation and relegate to a gigantic money trust the control of the purse and hence of the people.

We denounce this act, first, for making all money obligations, domestic and foreign, payable in gold coin or its equivalent, thus enormously increasing the burdens of the debtors and enriching the creditors.

Second, for refunding "coin bonds," not to mature for years, into long-time gold bonds, so as to make their payment improbable and our debt perpetual.

Third, for taking from the Treasury over \$50,000,000 in a time of war and presenting it at a premium to bondholders to accomplish the refunding of bonds not due.

Fourth, for doubling the capital of bankers by returning to them the face value of their bonds in currency money notes, so that they may draw one interest from the Government and another from the people

Fifth, for allowing banks to expand and contract their circulation at pleasure, thus controlling prices of all products.

Sixth, for authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to issue new gold bonds to an unlimited amount whenever he deems it necessary to replenish the gold reserve, thus enabling usurers to secure more bonds and more bank currency by drawing gold from the Treasury, thereby creating an "endless chain" for perpetually adding to a perpetual debt.

Seventh, for striking down the greenbacks in order to force the people to borrow \$346,000,000 more from the banks at an annual cost of over \$20,000,000.

While barring out the money of the Constitution this law opens the printing mints of the Treasury to the free coinage of bank paper money to enrich the few and impoverish the many.

We pledge anew the People's Party never to cease the agitation until this financial conspiracy is blotted from the statute books, the Lincoln greenback restored, the bonds all paid, and all corporation money forever retired.

We reaffirm the demand for the reopening of the mints of the United States for the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, the immediate increase in the volume of silver coins and certificates thus created to be substituted, dollar for dollar, for the bank notes issued by private corporations under special privileges granted by the law of March 14, 1900, and prior national banking laws, the remaining portion of the bank notes to be replaced with full legal-tender Government paper money, and its volume so controlled as to maintain at all times a stable money market and a stable price level.

We demand a graduated income and inheritance tax, to the end that aggregated wealth shall bear its just proportion of taxation.

We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

The original homestead policy should be enforced, and future settlers upon the public domain should be entitled to a free homestead, while all who have paid an acreage price to the Government under existing laws should have their homestead rights restored.

Trusts, the overshadowing evil of the age, are the result of culmination of the private ownership and control of the three great instruments of commerce—money, transportation, and the means of transmission of information—which instruments of commerce are public functions, and which our fathers declared in the Constitution should be controlled by the people through their Congress for the public welfare. One remedy for trusts is that ownership and control be assumed and exercised by the people.

We further demand that all tariffs on goods controlled by trusts shall be abolished.

To cope with the trust evil the people must act directly without intervention of representatives, who may be controlled or influenced. We therefore demand direct legislation, giving the people the law making and the veto power under the initiative and referendum. A majority of the people can never be corruptly influenced.

Applauding the valor of our Army and Navy in the Spanish war, we denounce the conduct of the Administration in changing a war for humanity into a war for conquest. The action of the Administration in the Philippines is in conflict with all precedents of our national life; at war with the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the plain precepts of humanity. Murder and arson have been our response to the appeals of the people who asked only to establish a free government in their own land. We demand a stoppage of this war of extermination by the assurance to the Philippines of independence and protection under a stable government of their own creation.

The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the American flag are one and inseparable.

The island of Porto Rico is a part of the territory of the United States, and by levying special and extraordinary customs duties on the commerce of that island the Administration has violated the Constitution, abandoned the fundamental principles of American liberty, and has striven to give the lie to the contention of our forefathers that there should be no taxation without representation.

Out of the imperialism which would force an undesired domination of the people of the Philippines springs the un-American cry for a large standing army. We denounce the Administration for its sinister efforts to substitute a standing army for the citizen soldiery, which is the best safeguard of the Republic.

We extend to the brave Boers of South Africa our sympathy and moral support in their patriotic struggle for the right of self-government, and we are unalterably opposed to any alliance, open or covert, between the United States and any other nation that will tend to the destruction of human liberty.

The platform denounces the Federal and Idaho State government for using the militia in the Coeur D'Alene mining districts for enforcement of what it terms "an infamous permit system" among the laborers struggling for a greater measure of independence.

It denounces the importation of Japanese and other laborers under contract to serve monopolistic corporations and pledges its efforts to restrict Mongolian and Malayan immigration. It indorses municipal ownership of public utilities. It demands a direct popular vote for United States Senators and all other officials as far as

practicable; denounces the practice of issuing injunctions in labor disputes, making criminal acts by organizations which are not criminal when performed by individuals; favors home rule in the Territories, and denounces the "red-tape system, cruel and unnecessary delay and criminal evasion of the statutes" in the management of the Pension Office. The platform also condemns the wholesale system of disfranchisement by coercion and intimidation adopted in some States as unrepugnant and undemocratic and demands provision for an honest count. Government ownership of railroads on a non-partisan basis is urged.

PLATFORM OF THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.

[Adopted by the Populist convention at St. Louis, July 24, 1896.]

The People's Party, assembled in national convention, reaffirms its allegiance to the principles declared by the founders of the Republic, and also to the fundamental principles of just government as enunciated in the platform of the party in 1892.

We recognize that through the connivance of the present and preceding Administrations the country has reached a crisis in its national life, as predicted in our declaration four years ago, and that prompt and patriotic action is the supreme duty of the hour.

We realize that, while we have political independence, our financial and industrial independence is yet to be attained by restoring to our country the constitutional control and exercise of the functions necessary to a people's government, which functions have been basely surrendered by our public servants to corporate monopolies. The influence of European money changers has been more potent in shaping legislation than the voice of the American people. Executive power and patronage have been used to corrupt our legislatures and defeat the will of the people, and plutocracy has been enthroned upon the ruins of democracy.

To restore the government intended by the fathers and for the welfare and prosperity of this and future generations, we demand the establishment of an economic and financial system which shall make us masters of our own affairs and independent of European control, by the adoption of the following declaration of principles:

AS TO MONEY, BONDS, AND INCOME TAX.

1. We demand a national money, safe and sound, issued by the General Government only, without the intervention of banks of issue, to be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private, and a just, equitable, and efficient means of distribution direct to the people and through the lawful disbursements of the Government.

2. We demand the free and unrestricted coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the consent of foreign nations.

3. We demand that the volume of circulating medium be speedily increased to an amount sufficient to meet the demands of the business population of this country and to restore the just level of prices of labor and production.

4. We denounce the sale of bonds and the increase of the public interest-bearing bond debt made by the present Administration as unnecessary and without authority of law, and that no more bonds be issued except by specific act of Congress.

5. We demand such legal legislation as will prevent the demonetization of the lawful money of the United States by private contract.

6. We demand that the Government on payment of its obligations shall use its option as to the kind of lawful money in which they are to be paid, and we denounce the present and preceding Administrations for surrendering this option to the holders of Government obligations.

7. We demand a graduated income tax, to the end that aggregated wealth shall bear its just portion of taxation, and we denounce the recent decision of the Supreme Court relative to the income-tax law as a misinterpretation of the Constitution and an invasion of the rightful powers of Congress over the subject of taxation.

8. We demand that postal savings banks be established by the Government for the safe deposit of the savings of the people and to facilitate exchange.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS AND TELEGRAPH.

1. Transportation being a means of exchange and a public necessity, the Government should own and operate the railroads in the interest of the people, and on non-partisan basis, to the end that all may be accorded the same treatment in transportation, and that the tyranny and political power now exercised by the great railroad corporations, which result in the impairment if not the destruction of the political rights and personal liberties of the citizen, may be destroyed. Such ownership is to be accomplished gradually, in a manner consistent with sound public policy.

2. The interest of the United States in the public highways built with public moneys and the proceeds of extensive grants of land to the Pacific railroads should never be alienated, mortgaged, or sold, but guarded and protected for the general welfare as provided by the laws organizing such railroads. The foreclosure of *existing liens* of the United States on these roads should at once

follow default in the payment of the debt of the companies, and at the foreclosure sales of said roads the Government shall purchase the same if it becomes necessary to protect its interests therein, or if they can be purchased at a reasonable price; and the Government shall operate said railroads as public highways for the benefit of the whole, and not in the interest of a few, under suitable provisions for protection of life and property, giving to all transportation interests equal privileges and equal rates for fares and freight.

3. We denounce the present infamous schemes for refunding those debts and demand that the laws now applicable thereto be executed and administered according to their true intent and spirit.

4. The telegraph, like the post-office system, being a necessity for the transmission of news, should be owned and operated by the Government in the interest of the people.

LAND, HOMES, AND PACIFIC RAILROAD GRANTS.

1. The true policy demands that the national and State legislation shall be such as will ultimately enable every prudent and industrious citizen to secure a home, and therefore the land should not be monopolized for speculative purposes.

All lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs should by lawful means be reclaimed by the Government and held for actual settlers only, and private land monopoly, as well as alien ownership, should be prohibited.

2. We condemn the frauds by which the land grant to the Pacific railroad companies have, through the connivance of the Interior Department, robbed multitudes of bona fide settlers of their homes and miners of their claims, and we demand legislation by Congress which will enforce the exemption of mineral land from such grants after as well as before patent.

3. We demand that bona fide settlers on all public lands be granted free homes, as provided in the national homestead law, and that no exception be made in the case of Indian reservations when opened for settlement, and that all lands not now patented come under this demand.

DIRECT LEGISLATION AND GENERAL PLANKS.

We favor a system of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum under proper constitutional safeguards.

We demand the election of President, Vice-President, and United States Senators by a direct vote of the people.

We tender to the patriotic people of Cuba our deepest sympathy in their heroic struggle for political freedom and independence, and we believe the time has come when the United States, the great

Republic of the world, should recognize that Cuba is and of right ought to be a free and independent state.

We favor home rule in the Territories and the District of Columbia and the early admission of the Territories as States.

All public salaries should be made to correspond to the price of labor and its products.

In times of great industrial depression idle labor should be employed on public works as far as practicable.

The arbitrary course of the courts in assuming to imprison citizens for indirect contempt and ruling by injunction should be prevented by proper legislation.

We favor just pensions for our disabled Union soldiers.

Believing that the elective franchise and untrammelled ballot are essential to a government of, for, and by the people, the People's Party condemn the wholesale system of disfranchisement adopted in some States as unrepubli- can and undemocratic, and we declare it to be the duty of the several State legislatures to take such action as will secure a full, free, and fair ballot and an honest count.

FINANCIAL QUESTION "THE PRESSING ISSUE."

While the foregoing propositions constitute the platform upon which our party stands, and for the vindication of which its organization will be maintained, we recognize that the great and pressing issue of the pending campaign, upon which the present Presidential election will turn, is the financial question, and upon this great and specific issue between the parties we cordially invite the aid and co-operation of all organizations and citizens agreeing with us upon this vital question.

Nor can legislation stop only with what are termed labor questions. The vast individual and corporate fortunes, the vast combinations of capital, which have marked the development of our industrial system, create new conditions and necessitate a change from the old attitude of the State and nation toward property.—Theodore Roosevelt, in speech at Minneapolis, September 2, 1901.

If, following the clear precepts of duty, territory falls to us, and the welfare of an alien people requires our guidance and protection, who will shirk from the responsibility, grave though it may be? Can we leave these people, who, by the fortunes of war and our own acts, are helpless and without government, to chaos and anarchy, after we have destroyed the only government they have had?—President McKinley, at Savannah, Ga., December 17, 1898.

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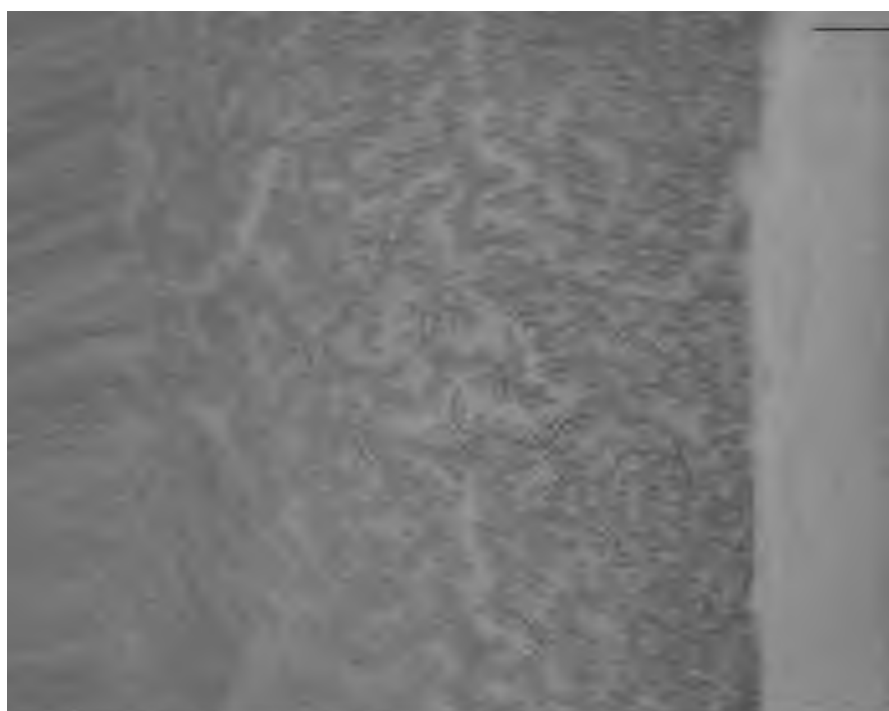
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